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John Smith

LECTURES ON WELSH PHILOLOGY.

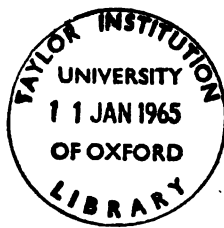
PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.
EDINBURGH AND LONDON

LECTURES
ON
WELSH PHILOLOGY.

BY
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PERPETUAL MEMBER OF THE PARIS PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

LONDON;
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.
1877.

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TO

F. MAX MÜLLER,

PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY AT OXFORD,

AND TO

WHITLEY STOKES,

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF INDIA,

This Volume

IS WITH DEFERENCE

DEDICATED

BY

THE WRITER.

PREFACE.

THE substance of these lectures was delivered at Aberystwyth College in 1874, so that they were intended to appeal, in the first instance, to Welsh students of Celtic Philology ; but it is hoped that they will also be found intelligible to other than Welsh readers, and with a view to this the Welsh instances have been rendered into English throughout. Since they were first delivered they have been re-written almost entirely, and the author could have desired to repeat the process ; but at that rate publication would have been out of the question, as his views are constantly undergoing modification, which will surprise no one aware how recently the systematic application of the comparative method of study to the Celtic languages began. His excuse for publishing at all,

under the circumstances, must be the fact that, although the highest effort of one student may result only in giving him a glimpse of half the truth, even that may enable another to discover the whole truth, and to secure for both a more advanced point of view. The chances of his doing this appear to outweigh the probability of the crudeness of his theories leading others astray who are not in the habit of trying to think for themselves, persuaded as he is, that, if they do not derive wrong ideas of Celtic questions from these pages, there are plenty of others from which they will. Besides, it would require a livelier imagination, and more ingenuity than he could boast of, to originate, with regard to the history of the Celtic languages or nations, any theories which could vie in absurdity and distorted vision with many of those still obtaining among people of the class mentioned.

The reader will have already surmised that the Lectures do not form a harmonious whole: one reason for this was the gradual coming in of more accurate knowledge about some of the most important of our Early Inscriptions after the MS. had been in the printer's hands. The

study of the former cannot fail to form an era in Welsh Philology, and no inference warranted by them could safely be overlooked. To a student of Greek or Roman epigraphy they might, it is true, appear of little importance both in point of meaning and of number, but meagre as they are, to those who are desirous of understanding the history of the Welsh language, they are simply invaluable. The author has the satisfaction of having, in the course of the last four summers, inspected nearly all of those still preserved, together with others of a somewhat later period, of which it was not thought necessary to submit a detailed account, seeing that they mostly belong to the time of the Old Welsh Glosses, and form accordingly a part only, and that the less important one, of the available materials for the study of Old Welsh.

As to the meaning attached here and elsewhere in this volume to the terms *Early*, *Old*, *Mediæval*, and *Modern Welsh*, the reader is referred to the beginning of the Fourth Lecture, page 143. And by the frequently recurring words, *our Early Inscriptions*, are briefly meant the old inscriptions, not of Roman or English

origin, which have been found in Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall, together with one or two in Scotland that appear to belong to the same class.

RHYL, *January 1, 1877.*

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LECTURES ON WELSH PHILOLOGY.

LECTURE I.

"If we meet in different tongues with words which are clearly the same word, notwithstanding differences of form and meaning which they may exhibit, we cannot help concluding that they are common representatives of a single original, once formed and adopted by a single community, and that from this they have come down by the ordinary and still subsisting processes of linguistic tradition, which always and everywhere involve liability to alteration in outer shape and inner content."—WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

If you glance at that part of the Old World extending from the Ganges to the Shannon, and consider the Babel of languages spoken within that range, you will be able to form an idea of the difficulty of satisfactorily classifying them. However, that has been so far done, and with so much success that the results are not likely to be very gravely compromised by future investigations. Roughly speaking, we have within that stretch of the Northern Hemisphere three great families of speech, namely, the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian. The first, of which more anon, comprises the idioms of the chief European

nations, and of Hindoos, Persians, and Armenians. The Semitic languages reckon among their number Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and kindred tongues. As Turanian we are taught by some to treat Turkish, Hungarian, Finnic, Lappish, Samoyedic, and a number of other nearly related dialects spoken in the Russian Empire, to which may now be added Accadian, one of the languages of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Ancient Assyria. This covers a considerable portion of Asia and all Europe, excepting the south-west of France and the north of Spain, where Basque is still spoken, a language whose place in the Turanian family has not yet been made out. It is, however, certain that it is neither Aryan nor Semitic.

To return to the Aryan family with which we are here more especially concerned, the analysis of the languages, formerly or still spoken by the leading nations of Hindoostan, Persia, and Europe, has led to the conclusion, that they are, linguistically speaking, descended in common from a single primeval tribe. So far all may be said to agree, but not so when we come to the question as to how and in what degrees the Aryan nations are severally related one to another within the family they make up. The older and still, perhaps, the prevailing theory, which has found a doughty champion in Dr. Fick of Göttingen, sets up a

genealogical tree to the following effect:—The original Aryan tribe broke up somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea into two, whereof the one, proceeding eastward, forced its way ultimately into Hindoostan and Persia, while the other made for Europe. Thus we have an Eastern or Asiatic branch, and a Western or European one. The former is represented by the Hindoos and Persians, and the latter is supposed to have, in the first instance, yielded a Northern and a Southern division : the Northern Aryans of Europe comprise the Teutons and the Litu-Slaves. The Teutons include the Aryan nations of Scandinavia and Iceland, the High Germans, and the Low Germans, among whom our nearest neighbours, the English, are reckoned. The Litu-Slaves fall into two groups, whereof one includes Lithuanians and Letts on the Baltic in a country divided between Prussia and Russia ; not to mention the Old Prussians or Borussi, who inhabited parts of Prussia now completely Germanised, and gave their name to Prussia itself, and to Berlin and other towns, where their memory is now a mere matter of history. The other group comprises the ruling race in Russia, Poles, Servians, Bohemians, Wends, and other nearly related races located within the areas of the Russian, Ottoman, Austrian, and German empires, and forming the *disjecta membra*

of a Slavonic world not easy to define without the aid of a good linguistic map of Europe. The other or Southern division of the European Aryans comprises—first, the Greeks and allied races, forming a whole with its centre of gravity somewhere between the Adriatic and the Hellespont; secondly, the Italians, who speak a variety of Romance dialects, preceded in Ancient Italy by no less a variety, including, among the most important, Latin, Oscan, and Umbrian—the affinities of Etruscan are still, owing to the difficulty of interpreting its remains, *sub judice*: it will probably turn out to be non-Aryan. And, thirdly, the Celts, called by the Romans Galli, by the Greeks *Κελτοί* and *Γαλάται*, and by themselves, or, rather, by those of them who inhabited Gaul or Ancient France, according to Cæsar's account, Celtæ, as to whom it may be said that some three hundred years before the Christian era, they occupied the British Isles, Gaul, Switzerland, a part of Spain, South Germany, and North Italy: not long after some of them passed into Asia Minor and gave their name to the province of Galatia.

The advocates of this theory are in some trouble as to how to deal with these three groups; the difficulty being, that Latin and the Celtic languages are so similar in many important respects that they are not to be severed, while, on the other

hand, Latin and Greek are still more closely allied. The consequence is, that some subdivide the Southern division into an Italo-Celtic and a Hellenic group, while others prefer to suppose a Celtic and a Greco-Italic group. This is one of the difficulties of the genealogical theory; but there are a good many more under which it labours, and which have been formulated by Johannes Schmidt in the first part of his book entitled *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Weimar, 1872), in which he propounds his own views. The latter I could not better describe than by rendering, as literally as I can, his own words: a paragraph beginning on page 28 runs thus:—“The figure also of an inclined plane dipping in an unbroken straight line from Sanskrit to Celtic appears to me not inappropriate. As to linguistic boundaries within this range, originally there were none: two dialects A and X taken at any distance you please apart in it were connected with one another by the continuous varieties B, C, D, &c. The appearance of linguistic boundaries, or, to abide by our figure, the transformation of the inclined plane into a flight of steps, I look at in this way:—one family or one stem speaking the variety F, for instance, gained, for reasons political, religious, social or other, the upper hand over its immediate neighbourhood. Thereby the nearest-

lying varieties of speech, G, H, I, K, in the one direction, and E, D, C, in the other, were suppressed by F and replaced by it. After this had happened F bordered immediately on the one side on B, on the other immediately on L: the varieties connecting both were on the one side raised and on the other sunk to the level of F. Thus a sharp linguistic boundary had been drawn between F and B on the one hand, and between F and L on the other, a step taking the place of the inclined plane; and surely this kind of thing has come to pass often enough in historical times. I will mention only the influence of Attic as it grew stronger and stronger, and gradually drove the dialects quite out of the field of Greek literature, the language of the city of Rome suppressing the other Italian dialects one and all, and Modern High German destined, and that perhaps at no very distant a date, to bring about the like extirpation of the German dialects."

These languages, whether, in the task of classifying them, one follows the lead of Fick or of Schmidt, are known collectively by various names, such as *Japhetic*, *Indo-European*, *Indo-Germanic*, *Indo-Celtic*, *Aryo-European*, and simply *Aryan*, none of which are free from objections, but *Aryan* recommends itself by its brevity. It is, however, to be remembered, that it is usually confined to

the Asiatic branch, the Aryans of India and Iran, by Continental writers, who, in case they are Germans, call the entire family *Indo-Germanic*, while a natural antithesis has suggested to the French mind the compound *Indo-Celtic*. *Aryo-European*, though also a new-fangled term, is more logical than *Indo-European*, which is still very commonly used here and in France: *Japhetic* seems to be out of favour and old-fashioned, though quite as good a term as *Semitic*, which continues to be applied to another great family.

To pass from this question of names to another and a more important one, it may be asked how it is known that the Aryan languages are of one and the same origin. In answer it may briefly be said, that one of the readiest ways of satisfying one's self on this point is to compare the vocabularies of the languages in question, especially the more permanent portions of them, such as the pronouns, the numerals, and the terms expressive of the nearer removes of blood-relationship. Thus nobody can fail to see to what conclusion the similarity between the following words must point:—Welsh *mi*, Irish *mé*, Latin *me*, Greek *με*, Eng. *me*, Lithuanian *manė**, Old Bulgarian (so the Slavonic language of which we have the earliest specimens is called) *me**, Sanskrit *mām*, Zend *mām*; Welsh *dau*, Irish *dá*, Latin *duo*, Greek *δύο*, Eng.

two, Lith. *dù*, O. Bulg. *dva*, Sansk. *dva*, Zend *dva*; Welsh *brwd*, Ir. *bráthair*, Lat. *fráter*, Greek *φράτηρ* 'a clansman,' Eng. *brother*, Lith. *broterélis*, O. Bulg. *bratrŭ*, Sansk. *bhrátar*, Zend *brátar*. Suffice it to say, that, if you chose to carry this simple inspection far enough, you would probably find the instances at your command so many and such as to preclude the possibility of their similarity to one another being the mere result of accident or of borrowing. Should you still hesitate to ascribe their similarity to a common origin of the languages they respectively belong to, there remain the irresistible arguments which the grammar of the latter never fail to supply. That is, in a few words, the kind of reasoning on which comparative philology, or, as it has been more concisely called, glottology, may be said to be mainly founded; at any rate, so far as concerns the leading families of human speech.

In passing, one cannot abstain from calling attention to the historical value and importance of the method of glottology already mentioned. A few specimens will serve to show how it lifts the veil of darkness which conceals from our ken the antiquity of the race. Thus from Welsh *ych* 'an ox,' plural *ychen*, Breton *oc'hen*, Eng. *ox*, *oxen*, Sansk. *ukshan*, 'a bull,' it is concluded that the primeval Aryans had a word *uksan* meaning an

ox or bull; and from Welsh *bu*, *bun*, *bunch*, 'a cow,' Irish *bó*, Lat. *bós*, Greek *βοῦς*, Eng. *cow*, Sansk. *go*, that they had a word *grau* meaning a cow or an ox: hence it is evident they were familiar with horned cattle. In the same way it could be shown that they had horses, sheep, goats, swine, and dogs. They lived not in tents, but in some kind of houses with doors to them [Welsh *drws*, Ir. *dorus*, Greek *θύρα*, Eng. *door*, Sansk. *dvāra*], and they knew how to kindle [Welsh *ennyn* 'to kindle a fire,' Sansk. *indh* the same, *indhana* 'firewood, fuel'] fires in them. Those fires served to make their pots or cauldrons boil [Welsh *pair* 'a cauldron,' Med. Ir. *coire*, Sansk. *caru*]: in them they cooked and stirred about some kind of broth or porridge [Welsh *umd* 'porridge,' Breton *iot*, O. Irish *íth* "puls," Lat. *jūs* 'broth, soup,' Greek *ζωμός* 'soup,' Lettish *jāut* 'to stir meal about in water,' O. Bulg. *jucha* 'soup,' Sansk. *yūs*, *yūsha*, 'broth, soup']. What kind of meal entered into the composition of this *μέλας ζωμός* is not known, as the evidence bearing on their skill in agriculture is very scanty. But that they had some kind of corn is proved by the equation of the Welsh word *haidd* 'barley' with Sansk. *sasya*, Zend *hahya* 'corn, a field-crop.'*

* When this was suggested to Mr. Whitley Stokes, he kindly called my attention to the following passage in Pliny xviii. 40:—"Secale Taurini sub Alpibus *asiam* vocant"—he proposes to read

They did not go naked, but wore clothing [Welsh *gwisg*, Lat. *vestis*, Sansk. *vastra*], made probably of wool [Welsh *gwlan*, Lith. *vilna*, O. Bulg. *vlŭna*, Eng. *wool*, Sansk. *ūrna*]. All this tends to show that they lived in the North Temperate Zone, that is, as it is supposed, in Western Asia, far away probably from the first man's abode, sometimes assigned by anthropology, in its attempt to grapple with the difficulty as to how Australians, Coolies, Papuans, and Negroes reached their respective homes, to a continent which it undertakes to project as once extending from Africa eastward by Madagascar and Ceylon as far as Celebes. But although we read in the Book of Genesis how Adam was driven out of Paradise with its four mysterious rivers, they are, perhaps, a little sanguine who expect that deep-sea dredging in the Indian Ocean may one day be the means of bringing to light a twig or two of the tree of knowledge. Now that our inquiry is overtaken on a by-path, it is liable to be waylaid by the evolutionist and stopped by the theologian; the former wishing to know how far our Aryan forefather had risen above the ape, and the latter how far he had gone from original righteousness. The

sasiam. Further, in his *Remarks on the Celtic Additions to Curtius' Greek Etymology*, &c. (Calcutta, 1875), p. 43, he points out in the two first letters of the Irish word *corna* 'barley,' the rule-right Irish representative of Greek *ῥείδ*, Lith. *javai*, Sanskrit *yava*.

answer has been partly given already: the following remarks may be added:—Looked at from an intellectual point of view, we do not know much about him beyond the facts, that he could count as far as one hundred [Welsh *cant*, O. Ir. *cét*, Lat. *centum*, Eng. *hundred*, Sansk. *çata*], that to him to know was to see [Welsh (*yn dy*) *mydd* ('in thy) sight,' *gryddost* 'thou knowest,' Lat. *video* 'I see,' Greek *οἶδα* 'I know,' *εἶδον* 'I saw,' Sansk. *vedmi*, *veda*, 'I know'], and that he knew how to stretch and touch a number of strings so as to elicit from them music to cheer his leisure hours or to enliven his festivities [Welsh *tant* 'a rope, a string, a musical string,' plural *tannau* 'the harp,' O. Ir. *tét* (*gl. fidis*), Sansk. *tanti*, *tantu*, 'a string, a chord,' *tata* 'a stringed instrument;,' Greek *τόνος* 'a rope, a cord, a strain, tension, a note, a tone,' *τάσις* 'a stretching, a raising the pitch in music'].

Socially he seems to have been the master of his house on a footing of equality with his wife, who was mistress of the same and not a slave. His children not only addressed him as father, but they also called him more familiarly *tata* [O. Welsh *tat*, Mod. Welsh *tad*, our only word for father, Lat. *tata*, a fond word for father, Greek *τάτα*, *τέρτα*, O. Bulg. *tata*, Sansk. *tata*, *tāta*]. His vocabulary appears to have been very copious as regards the various ramifications of the family, whence it is

inferred that each individual had his standing in it well defined, a state of things highly natural in a patriarchal system of government. His ideas of religion and morals can only be guessed, and how many gods he had it is impossible to say. It is, however, certain that he worshipped one above all others, if others he had, and that he spoke of him in terms expressive at once of the light of day and of the wide expanse of the sky, which looked down upon him wherever he roamed [O. Welsh *diu* 'God,' Mod. Welsh *diu* 'day,' Mod. Welsh *Dun* 'God,' *dym* 'day,' *he-ddym* 'to-day,' Ir. *dia* 'God,' *in-diu* 'to-day,' Lat. *Diovis*, *Jovis*, *deus*, *divus*, *sub divo* = *sub Jove* 'beneath the open sky,' Greek *Ζεύς*, genitive *Διός*, *δῖος* 'heavenly,' *ἐνδιος* 'at midday,' Sansk. *div*, *dyu*, 'the sky, day, brightness']. This may have been merely his way of saying that his great Heaven-father [= Lat. *Diespiter*, *Joupiter*, *Jûpiter*, *Juppiter* = Greek *Ζεῦ πάτερ* = Vedic Sansk. *Dyaushpitar*] was the god of light, and that he was present everywhere. Whether he worshipped light or not, as such, in the performance of his religious rites he seems to have been in the habit of standing with his face turned to the rising of the sun and his right hand to the south [Welsh *dehau* 'right (hand), south,' *Deheu-dir* 'the south land, i.e., South Wales,' O. Ir. *dess*, Mod. Ir. *deas* 'right, south;,' the

Teutonic instances are *Teisterbant* and *Texel*, in which the first syllable is supposed to mean south (see the *Revue Celtique*, ii. p. 173); Sansk. *dakshina* 'right, south,' *dakṣiṇā* (*diç*) a southern country supposed to be the Deccan].

How he stood with his god or gods it is impossible to say, but he seems to have been no entire stranger to his own shortcomings, and the consciousness of some kind of sin or guilt, as proved by Welsh *euog* 'guilty' (for other instances of Welsh *eu* = *ag* see the *Rev. Celt.*, ii. p. 193), Greek *ἄγος* 'pollution, guilt, a curse,' Sansk. *āgas* 'offence, mistake, transgression,' words which bring into a strange rapport with one another the disciples of Buddha in the far East, the followers of Calvin in Wales, and those subtle Greeks of old, in whose history, religious and political, the *ἄγος* played a conspicuous part. The natural corollary to this is the inference that the religion of our Aryan ancestors must have had its ascetic side, and enjoined on them some kind of penance and self-mortification, as suggested by the following words:—Welsh *crefydd* 'religion,' meaning formerly religion from the point of view of an ascetic, whence *crefyddwr* in the Middle Ages meant a *religieux* rather than a religious man in the ordinary Protestant sense: Irish *cráibdeach* 'pious' (in the Book of Armagh), *craibhteach* 'religious,

devout,' *craibhdhgh* "people who mortify the flesh" (O'Reilly), Sansk. *çram*, *crâmya* 'to become tired, to labour in vain, to chastise one's self,' *çrânta* (for *crâm-ta*) 'fatigue, pains, chastisement, the result of religious effort,' *çramana* 'one who chastises himself, an ascetic, a beggar-friar, a Buddhist,' *çramanâ* 'a beggar-nun,' *açramana* 'an anascetic.' So, after wandering about in the mists of antiquity, we unexpectedly find ourselves near a point conspicuous in the religious landscape of our own day.

When we set out on this digression we were considering the phonetic similarity of cognate words belonging to different languages, but in the course of it instances were intentionally brought together, which may, on the other hand, have forced their differences into relief. It will, however be some consolation to find that the majority of those differences follow fixed rules. Thus, to recall the Welsh word *pair* and the Irish *coire*, the same *p-c* variation occurs in other cases, such as Mod. Welsh *pen* 'head,' *pren* 'a tree,' *pry* 'who,' and O. Welsh *map* 'a son,' which are in Irish *ceann*, *crann*, *cía*, and *mac*, respectively. Similarly in equating Welsh *cant* with Eng. *hund*-red we assumed Welsh *c* to be represented in the Teutonic languages by *h*; and that is found to hold true in other instances: take Welsh *caff*-ael,

Eng. *have*, Welsh *cas* 'hateful,' Eng. *hate*, Welsh *ci* 'a dog,' pl. *cywn*, Eng. *hound*, Welsh *coed* 'a wood,' Eng. *heath*, Welsh *coll*, Eng. *hazel*, Welsh *craidd* 'centre,' Eng. *heart*. Now it is one of the characteristics of the Teutonic languages that they deviate as regards the consonants in a consistent and well-defined manner from the other Aryan languages, and it is to the students of the former that we owe the discovery of the rules alluded to, or at any rate the more important of them. Hence they are commonly called, after the scholars who made them out, Grimm's Law, and sometimes Rask's. By means of that law, and the other data afforded by a careful comparison of all the more important Aryan languages, some glottologists think it possible approximately to infer both the vocabulary and the inflections of that older language whence they have all sprung. An idea may be formed of the amount of work attempted in this direction from the fact that the second edition of Schleicher's *Compendium of the Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages* (Weimar, 1866) makes up 856 pages octavo, and that the second edition of Fick's *Comparative Dictionary* of the same (Göttingen, 1870) covers no less than 1085 pages octavo, while the third edition, now publishing, is likely to occupy a good deal more than double that number.

Perhaps I could not do better than close these preliminary remarks with a rough summary of consonants etymologically equivalent in some of the leading Aryan languages. No attempt is made to make the table exhaustive by crowding into it exceptional details, unless they happen to be of special interest to the student of Welsh. However, it will be found sufficiently exact to enable you with ease to bring to book many of the fanciful etymologies which are ever floating about in the atmosphere of Celtic philology until they are caught by some reckless writer of the fantastic school of history, who dearly loves wild speculations on the past of some one of the Celtic nations; for a false etymology can seldom be said to be insured against speedy oblivion until the Muse of History has taken it by the hand and assigned it a sphere of usefulness.

Now that you have a general idea of the way the student of comparative philology goes to work, and the position which the Celtic languages occupy in the family to which they belong, your attention must be called a little more in detail to them. It has already been hinted that they offer more important points of similarity to Latin and its sister dialects of Ancient Italy than to any other Aryan group of languages whatsoever—herein Fick and Schmidt would agree; but next,

	Sanskrit	Zend.	Old Bulgarian	Lithuanian	Gothic	English.	Modern High German.	Greek.	Latin.	Oscan and Umbrian.	Gaulish.	Old Irish.	Old Welsh.	
K	ḱ, o, (p) ḱ	ḱ, o, (p) ḱ	ḱ, (p) ḱ	sz	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	κ, π, τ, κ	o, qv, (c, v) t	k (ʃ) d	c	c, ch t, th	o p t	K Qv
Gv	g, j (k)	g, o, (p) ḱ	g, (p) ḱ	g, (p) ḱ	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	γ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	G
Dv	ḍ, j (k)	ḍ, o, (p) ḱ	ḍ, (p) ḱ	ḍ, (p) ḱ	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	δ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	P
B	b	b	b	b	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	β, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Q
Gh	gh	gh	gh	gh	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	γ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Gv
Dh	dh	dh	dh	dh	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	δ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	D
Bh	bh	bh	bh	bh	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	β, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	B
Ng	ng	ng	ng	ng	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	γ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Gh
N	n	n	n	n	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	ν, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Dh
M	m	m	m	m	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	μ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Bh
R	r	r	r	r	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	ρ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Ng
Y	y	y	y	y	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	ϕ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	M
V	v	v	v	v	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	φ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	N
S	s	s	s	s	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	h, (g) h	σ, π, τ, κ	g, (v, b) d, (l) b	g, (ʃ) d	g	g, (m) f	g, (m) f	Ng

By ḱ is here meant the sound of *th* in the English word *this*: in Modern Welsh it is written *dd*. On its taking the place of Aryan *ḱ*, see the *Revue Celtique*, ii. p. 116. Welsh *j*, in these lectures, means the sound of *y* in the English word *yet*, never that of English *j*: in writing Welsh it is not usual to distinguish it from the vowel *i*. Some English phonologists maintain that the Welsh semi-vowels *j* and *w* are merely syllabic *i* and *u*: they may not be identical with English *y* and *u*, but I fail to detect the difference. It is true that the Welsh find it difficult to combine them with the cognate vowels to make English *yi* and *wu* as in *yield* and *wool*; but I cannot see that it follows that they cannot readily pronounce the easier combinations *yo*, *yo*, *yo*, *yo*, and *we*, *we*, *we*, *we*.

perhaps, to the Italian group they most nearly resemble English and the other members of the Teutonic group. This fact, which is gradually becoming more evident as Celtic glottology progresses, is fully taken into account by the dialectic theory, as coinciding with the geographical position occupied at the dawn of history by the Celts between Italians and Teutons; whereas the genealogical tree would lead one to expect to find them resembling, in point of language, the Slavonians quite as much as the Teutons, which is certainly far from being the case. It is also to be noticed, that it is owing to the encroachment of languages deriving their origin from Italy and Germany, that the vast Celtic world of antiquity has been, as far as regards language, reduced to its present narrow dimensions, that is to say, the fag-ends of France and the British Isles. This is, however, an aspect of our history which no one could expect us to dwell upon with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction: as we believe the Celts never to have been cowards, we turn away fain to think that the words which the poet makes Hector apply to individuals hold equally true of races:—

*Μοῖραν δ' οὐτινὰ φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν,
Οὐ κακόν, οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἔπειν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.*

The Celtic languages still spoken are Welsh, Breton, Gaelic in Ireland and the Highlands of

Scotland, and Manx: among the dead ones are Old Cornish, Pictish, and Gaulish. Of these, Cornish, which ceased to be spoken only in the latter part of the last century, has left us a considerable amount of literature, while the Pictish words extant may be counted on one's fingers: the old Gauls have left behind them a number of monuments, from which, together with other sources, a fair number of their names and a few other specimens of their vocabulary have been collected; enough in fact to enable one to assign them their proper place in the Celtic family. Now as to the Celts of the British Isles and Brittany, all are agreed that they divide themselves naturally into two branches, the one Kymric and the other Goidelic. To the latter belong the Irish and the Gaels of Scotland, together with the Manx; to the former the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Bretons, not to mention that the Picts, Mr. Skene notwithstanding, were probably Kymric rather than Goidelic. Then as to the Ancient Gauls, it has been usual to range them with the Kymric nations, so that you will find the entire Celtic family commonly spoken of as consisting of Goidelic nations on the one hand, and Gallo-British ones on the other.

There are, however, good reasons for regarding this classification as resting on a bad foundation,

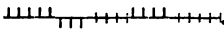

namely, a phonological argument which will not bear examination. It is this: The Welsh and the Gauls belong to the same branch of the Celtic family, because their languages agree in replacing Aryan *qv* by *p*, while Irish uses *c*: thus the O. Irish word for *four* was *cethir*, while our word is *pedwar*, formerly *petguar*, and the Gauls called a kind of carriage in use among them *petorritum*, a form which no doubt involves their word for *four*. The corresponding Latin, it is needless to add, was *quatuor*, and the Aryan original was probably *qvatar*. Now a glance at the equivalents of Aryan *qv* in the table will serve to show that this kind of reasoning, if it proves anything, proves rather too much. For why, it may be asked, should the Welsh not be asserted also to be particularly near relations of those Italians, for instance, who said *petur* for *quatuor*, of the Greeks who called the same numeral *πέντε*, and of the Modern Roumanians who have modified the Latin words *aqua* and *equa* into *ape* and *eape* respectively? That would of course be absurd, and it is evidently dangerous to rest a theory of history or ethnology on such a basis. Nor is this all: the *p* coincidence between Welsh and Gaulish should imply something like an identity of date; that is, both languages ought to have had *p* for *qv* in use at the same time, so as to allow one to infer that *qv*

had become *p* at a time when they were as yet one language. This would be another twig of the genealogical tree, and a contradiction of the facts of the case. The Gauls had replaced *qv* by *p* at some date anterior to the time of Cæsar, whereas our ancestors do not seem to have done so much before the 6th century. You will have already learned from the table, that Aryan *p* had disappeared from the Celtic languages: so, previous to the change by the Welsh of *qv* into *p*, the latter sound must have been unknown to them. Accordingly we find that the Ogam alphabet made no provision for it, and that, when our ancestors began to borrow Roman names with *p*, they had to invent symbols for it: more strictly speaking, they seem to have extemporised them, for in the only two instances extant they are different ones. The former are *PVNPEIVS*, accompanied by *Pope-* in Ogam, on the Cynffig stone, and *TVRPILLI*, the genitive of the Welsh form of *Turpilius*, on the Glan Usk Park stone near Crickhowel: the Ogam is not easy to read, but *Turpil-* is certain.* The other names with *p*, *Pascent-*, *Paternini*,

* The Ogmic symbol for *p* in *Turpil-* is of the form of *x* placed on the right of the edge. The same symbol placed on the edge has lately been proved by Dr. S. Ferguson to occur for *p* in an Irish inscription reading: *Broinienas poi netattrenalugos*, which Mr. Stokes would treat as *Broinicoonas poi netat Trenalugos*, and render, literally, (*Lapis*) *Broinidnis (qui) fuit propugnatorum Trenalugds*: see the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. i. ser. ii. pp. 292-297,

Paulinus, Potenina, which occur on our older class of monuments, are unfortunately not given in Ogam. The earliest native name in point is *PORIVS* in debased Roman capitals hardly older than the 6th century, and the earliest instance in manuscript is the related name borne by the king of Dyfed in the time of Gildas, who uses it in the vocative case as *Vortipori*: Gildas wrote about the middle of the 6th century. Kymric names with *qv* are more numerous, and, probably, earlier: in debased capitals we have for instance *MAQV[ERAGI]*, *MAQVIRINI*, *QVENATAVCI* and *QVENVENDANI*, of which the last mentioned is a highly interesting instance: it seems to be a derivative from *Qvenvend-*, which in Modern Welsh is *penmyn*, 'white-headed,' and as a proper name^X *Penmyn*, 'The Whitehead.' In Irish this is *Cennfinn*, whence is formed *Cennfinnan*, which is, letter for letter, our *Qvenvendan-i*, and has its parallel in the Irish name *Cennndubhan*, similarly formed from *dubh*, 'black: ' we may compare in Welsh *Carnwennan*, Arthur's knife, from *carnwen*, 'white-hilted.' Nor is this all, for *Penmyn* and *Cennfinn* find their Gaulish representative,

where also another stone is mentioned by the Bishop of Limerick as reading: *Corbi poi macui Labradi*—Mr. Stokes would render it (*Lapis*) *Corbi (qui) fuit gentis Labradii*. These excellent suggestions of Mr. Stokes I have taken the liberty of publishing from his letters to me last May.

to which my attention was lately called, on a silver coin in De Saulcy's collection (*Rev. Celt.*, i. 297) in the form ΠΕΝΝΟΟVΙΝΑΟC, i.e., Pen-nowindos. In Ogam we frequently have *maqvi* the genitive of the word for son, and an inscription from Devon reads *Swagqvuci maqvi Qvici*, which deserves a word of explanation. *Swagqvuc-i* is probably a derivative from *swagqv-*, which must be the prototype of Mod. Welsh *chwaff*, used in S. Wales in the form *hwaff* or *naff*, and meaning 'quick, quickly;' and as to *Qvic-i*, the same name occurs in Irish Ogam written *Qveci*, for that is how I would read . As a rule, however, our *qv* is so written also in Irish Ogam, as in *maqvi*, which occurs scores of times on Irish monuments written *maqvi*, *maqqvi*, *moqvi*, with a single Ogam, , for *qv*, or doubled for what I transliterate *qqv*. But in the earliest specimens of Irish and Welsh found in manuscript Irish *qv* had been simplified into *cc* or *c*, and Welsh *qv*^x made into *p*, so that the word for *son* became *macc* or *mac* on the other side of St. George's Channel, and *map*, now *mab*, on this—the Gaulish cognate is supposed to be the simple form implied by the Gaulish derivative *Mapilus* (Kuhn's *Beitraege*, v. p. 364). To talk of the Welsh changing *c* into *p*, it is almost needless to remark, is the result of ignorance of the laws of

phonology: where Irish *c* and Welsh *p* are equivalent, they both represent an earlier *qv* which, it is interesting to notice, the Irish retained intact till after the time when the Welsh began to change it into *p*. Thus Irish hagiology speaks of a St. Ciaran, whose name it also preserves in what is evidently a much older form, *Queranus*. He is supposed to have lived from 516 to 549, and to have been the first abbot of Clonmacnoise. There was, however, an earlier Irish saint of the same name who was born in St. Patrick's time, and is supposed to have died in the year 500. Fortunately for our inquiry, he came over into this country, and his name became modified into *Pir-anus* or *Piran*; and a church in Cornwall still bears his name, Piran in the Sands, Piran in Sabulis or Peranzabuloe. Thus it would seem that the Welsh were in the habit of changing *qv* into *p* about the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 6th century, while the Irish retained it intact so late at least as the middle of the latter century: so the Gallo-British theory can derive no support from this quarter.

Were one inclined to use an argument like the one which has just been condemned, one might urge that Irish and Gaulish having initial *s* where Welsh has *h*, makes for a Gallo-Goidelic unity. This would of course be idle, as it is certain that

our ancestors changed *s* into *h* subsequently to their borrowing from the Romans the word *sex-tarius*, which they had made, before the end of the 9th century, into *hestaur*, written later *hestawr*, whence *hestoraid*, colloquially curtailed in some parts of N. Wales into *stored*, a measure of capacity of about two bushels. It need hardly be added, that our early monuments never show an initial *h*, but always *s*; but the process of changing *s* into *h* in Welsh would seem to have become obsolete before the middle of the 6th century, if we may depend on the tradition which refers the church of Llansannan in Denbighshire to the Irish saint, Senanus, who is supposed to have spent a part of his life in this country, and to have died in the year 544: this is, however, not a very conclusive argument, as some native words do not change *s* into *h*: take for instance the numeral *saith*, 'seven,' and there may have been reasons unknown to us why a foreign name should not follow the rule obtaining in Welsh: the double *n* also in *Llansannan* creates a difficulty.

Having severed the supposed Gallo-British ties of special kinship, we are at liberty to re-classify the entire family into two branches, whereof the one embraces the Celts of the Continent, and the other those of the Islands. This, however, does

not in any wise interfere with the probability of the Continental Celts having invaded this island, and taken possession of extensive tracts of it long after they and the Insular Celts had differentiated themselves in point of language and history. In fact, it is certain that parts of the South of England had been thus occupied by invaders from the Continent, among whom there were probably Celts, if indeed they were not wholly Celts, before Julius Cæsar landed here. And if the common reading of a passage in Ptolemy's Geography is to be depended upon, which mentions a people called *Παρίσιοι*, living in a town called *Περοναρία*, near the Humber, one can hardly avoid drawing the conclusion that the Gaulish Parisii had sent a colony here. This is by no means impossible, considering the position of the *Παρίσιοι* near the Humber, and the possibility that the Parisii, whose chief town, Lutetia, stood on an island in the Seine, on a site still occupied by Paris, had ships at one time at their command. And here the following points, which I copy from Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, are perhaps not all irrelevant. It seems that the Romans had a fleet at Paris; a ship appears in the arms of the city; an inscription was dug up at Notre Dame in the last century, reading *Nautæ Parisiaci*; and the Senones, the neighbours, and probably

the allies, of the Parisii, possessed ships; for Cæsar (vii. 58) states that Labienus seized about fifty of them at once at Melodunum, higher up the river. Whatever the noun implied by *Περὸν* may have been, the word is probably to be equated with Mod. Welsh *pedwaredd*, 'quarta.' Brittany, it is needless to say, is a kind of a counter-colony, the Bretons being the descendants of countrymen of ours who passed thither about the 5th century, and not the direct representatives of the Ancient Gauls, as is proved by their traditions and language, which is a Kymric dialect easily learned by a Welshman. I gather, however, that a leading French Celtist, M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, takes for granted the Gaulish descent of Breton; but so far I am not aware that he has made it the subject of special discussion. In the same light as the British colony in Armorica, one might also regard the settlement in Scotland of Gaels from Ireland.

It is clear that the old classification, if it is to stand, must be placed on a firmer foundation, which, I am persuaded, is not likely to be discovered. Nevertheless, it is impossible to prove to a certainty that the one here proposed in its stead is the correct one. At first sight it might appear to be demonstrated as soon as certain traits have been pointed out in which Welsh and

Irish agree with one another and differ from Gaulish. But it is not so, as two languages may take the same path independently of one another : such points of similarity—and such there are in spite of the scarcity of the Gaulish data—can only yield a greater or less degree of presumption in favour of the closer kinship of Welsh and Irish. This is, however, a sufficient reason for briefly mentioning a few of them.

A single *s* flanked by vowels is lost in Welsh and Irish, but retained in Gaulish; as in the Irish word *ga*, genitive *gai* or *gaoi*, ‘a spear, a javelin.’ Its Gaulish equivalent is *gaesum*, mentioned for instance in Virgil’s description of the followers of Brennus :—

— *duo quisque Alpina coruscant*
Gassa manu, scutis protecti corpora longis.

In classical Latin the stems of nouns in the second declension end in *u* in the nominative, as in *equus*, *filius*, *donum*, but Old Latin *equos*, *filios*, *donom*, on a level with the Greek *vios*, *θεός*, and the like. The corresponding vowel in Sanskrit is *a*, as in *Śivas*, ‘the god Siva,’ *kāntas*, ‘carus,’ *kāntam*, ‘carum :’ it is *a* also in Zend and written Lithuanian, and it is generally considered to be older than the *u* and *o* of Latin and Greek. The inscriptions of Ancient Gaul show Gaulish to have been in this respect on the classical level : witness

the following forms :—Andecamulos, Cernunnos, Contextos, Crispos, Doiros, Dontaurios, Iccavos, *Οὐλλωνεος*, *Σεγομαρος*, Seviros, tarvos, Tarbelinos, Ulcos; Brivatiom, canecosedlon, cantalon, celicnon, Dontaurion, Iubron, *νεμητον*, Ramedon. The evidence of the leading elements in compounds is to the same effect: Danno-tali, *Ουνδο-μαρος*, Samo-talus, Sego-mari, Verno-dubrum. But on the whole the early inscriptions of Wales and Ireland make for *a*—unfortunately we are nearly confined to the leading elements in compounds: Welsh—Cata-manus, Corba-lengi, Cuna-cenni, Ena-barri, Netta-sagru, Trena-catus; Irish—Anadovinnias, Cata-bar, Cuna-cena, Cuna-gussos, Evacattos, Netta-lami: to this I would add an inscription from Ballintaggart reading *Tria maqva Mailagni*, probably for *Tria(m) Maqvam Mailagni* = *Τριῶν νιῶν* Mailagni. It is right to add, that in the period to which our earlier Welsh monuments are to be referred the vowel ending the leading elements in compounds had got to be indistinctly pronounced, a preparation to its entire elision in later Welsh generally. In our bilingual inscriptions *a* is used in Ogam, but advantage is sometimes taken of the obscure sound of the vowel to write it *o* in the Latin version, or even *e*, which tends to make the names look a little more like Latin. Thus we find together *Cunatami* and *Cuno-*

tami, *Cunacenniri* and *Cunocenni*, *Trenagusu* and *Trenegussi*: also in two distinct inscriptions in Roman capitals *Senomagli* and *Senemagli*. But on the whole the weight of evidence is in favour of the claims of *a*. Welsh and Irish inscriptions contain derived forms ending in the genitive in *gni*: Welsh—*Maglagni*, *Ulcagnus*, *Corbagni*, *Curcagni*; Irish—*Artagni*, *Corbagni*, *Dalligni*, *Mailagni*, *Talagni*, *Ulccagni*. In Gaulish names the same suffix is *cnos*, *cnon*, genitive *cni*, as in *celicnon*, *Oppianicnos*, *Τοοντισσικνος*, *Druticnos*, *Druticni*. On a bilingual stone *Druticnos* is rendered *Druti filius*, but the inference, that Gaulish had a word *cnos* meaning *son*, is as warrantable as if, from *Πελοπίδης = Πέλοπος υἱος*, one concluded that Greek had a word *ἱδης = υἱος*.

When the Celts first took possession of these islands, it is highly probable that the patriarchal system of government obtained among them, and that it continued to flourish as a well-defined system of tribes or clans, such as we find in later times in Ireland and Scotland, during the long interval between their coming here and their separation into Kymric and Goidelic nations. And it is perhaps to this prehistoric period of Goidelo-Kymric unity that one is to refer the composition of most of the personal names containing the word *teyrn*, 'a king, a monarch,' O. Irish *tigerne*, now *tighearna*,

‘ a lord : ’ in our early inscriptions we have *tigirn-i* and *tegern-o-*. The etymon is the Celtic word for house, which, in O. Welsh, was *tig*, now *ty*, O. Ir. *teg*, now *teach*, genitive *tige*, now *tighe* : so the word *teyrn* is perhaps an adjectival formation which may originally have meant *connected with or relating to the house*, but in what special sense it is now impossible to say. Its use was not confined to the Insular Celts, for Gregory of Tours mentions a Tigernum “castrum urbis Arvernæ, Tigernense castellum”—I am quoting from Glück’s *Keltischen Namen* (Munich, 1857), p. 180 : in Auvergne this is now *Tiern*, and the name is known to all in its form of *Thiers*. Now the Celts of the British Isles seem to have applied the adjective to the householder or the head of the house, but as the head of the house in a wider sense was also lord and monarch of his people, the word came to mean a lord or monarch ; and it is perhaps not altogether an accident that we have no evidence of this in Gaulish nomenclature, while it is well attested in Kymric and Goidelic proper names : take the following :—Welsh—Catteyrn (Cattigirn, CATOTIGIRNI), Cyndeyrn (Kentegerni), Dutigirn, Eutigirn, Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern), Illteyrn, Myllteyrn, Rhydeyrn (Rutegyrn), Teyrn (Tegyrn), Teyralluc, Teyrnog (Ir. Tighearnach), Teyrnon ; from Cornwall we have TEGERNOMALI, and in manuscript

Tigerinomalum; Breton — Maeltiern, Tiernmael; Irish—Eachtighearn, Tighearnan, Tighearnmas.

To the same Goidelo-Kymric period I would refer the adoption by the Insular Celts of Druidism, which is probably to be traced to the race or races who preceded the Celts in their possession of the British Isles. Cæsar's words as to Druidism are so well known that they need not be here quoted at length. On the other hand, the Irish word for *druid*, the equivalent of our *dermydd* is *draoi*, genitive *druadh*, which in Irish literature mostly means a magician or soothsayer, and is usually rendered by *magus* in the lives of Irish saints written in Latin. It has not been proved, as pointed out by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Les Celtes*—Extrait de la *Revue Archeologique*: Paris, 1875), that Druidism found its way into Gaul before 200 B.C. When it did get there, it was, undoubtedly, through the Belgæ, who had settled in Britain: Cæsar's words are significant (vi. 13) —“*Disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur, et nunc, qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causa proficiscuntur.*”

As already pointed out, such items as these do not amount to a demonstration of the correctness of the classification here advocated; but neither is a demonstration necessary in order to give it a

superiority over the one now in fashion. The latter being shown to be founded on a misconception, the former cannot but in the main be admitted; and in any case it has the important consideration to recommend it, that it makes no unnecessary postulates. A Celtic people speaking one and the same language came from the Continent and settled in this island; sooner or later some of them crossed over to Ireland and made themselves a home there. The latter opinion is countenanced, as far as they go, by some of the names on both sides of the Irish Sea as given in Ptolemy's Geography. Thus the Brigantes occupied not only the North of England, but also a part of Ireland: we have a *Γαργαῶν ἄκρον* in the third of Carnarvonshire called Lleyln, and *Γαργαῶι* located, as it is supposed, in what is now called Clare. Possibly also Ptolemy's *Οὐενίκωνες*, in Forfarshire, belonged to the same tribe as his Irish *Οὐεννίκνιοι*, or at least to a nearly related tribe. Dr. Reeves in his edition of Adamnan's *Vita Sancti Columbæ* (Dublin, 1857) mentions, p. 31, *Inbher Domnonn* (in the map prefixed to the work it is *Inbher Domhnann*), the old name of the Malahide river, near Dublin; also the *Eirros Domno* of Adamnan's text, in Irish *Iorrus Domhnann*, the barony of Erris in the county of Mayo, which the Irish, according to his account, refer to

the "*Fir Domhnann*, Viri Damnonii, a section of the Firbolgs." The Irish names here alluded to suggest a connection with the *Dumnonii* of Devon, Ptolemy's *Δουμόνιοι*, rather than with his *Δαμνόριοι* of the North, or his *Δαμνόριον τὸ καὶ Ὀκρινον ἄκρον*, supposed to be the Lizard, in Cornwall. Owing to their being separated by an intervening sea, there grew up between the Celts of Ireland and their kindred in this country differences of dialect, to which the probable adoption of their language by races, whom they may have found in possession of both islands, more or less materially contributed. In the course of many centuries these differences had become so many and such that they could no longer be said to speak one language, but two nearly related languages, Goidelic in Ireland, and Kymric here. This is not altogether mere theory, for all the most tangible differences between Welsh and Irish can be assigned to various periods of time posterior to the separation: this has already been indicated in the case of a few of them, and others will be dealt with as we proceed. Where then is the necessity for supposing that the Celts who took possession of the British Isles were even then of two distinct nationalities, speaking two distinct languages, and what was it that originally determined that duality?

Those who profess to be unable to believe that

the Welsh and the Irish are nearly related, because they find them unlike in their national character and habits, choose to forget how different the circumstances were under which they have lived from the days of Julius Cæsar to our own. But even so late as the reign of Elizabeth, their difference of history had hardly produced so marked a difference of character as one might have expected. Since then, however, the gulf has been considerably widened. The Irish have had their '98, and the bulk of them remain true to the Church of Rome, while the Welsh have become Protestants, and most of them have adopted the theological views of Calvin, the force of whose influence, if we look at it merely as a means of profoundly modifying a people's character, and without regard to its characteristics in other respects, cannot easily be exaggerated.

LECTURE II.

"The initial changes are commonly the most perplexing feature of the Welsh language to those who know it only imperfectly; and those who observe the rules, by ear are seldom acquainted with the *rationale* of their own faultless speech."—CHARLES WILLIAMS.

IN spite of what was said in the former lecture, you will perhaps think that, although the chief differences between Welsh and Irish can be shown to have sprung up since the separation, the fact of their springing up at all points to radical difference in the constitution of the vocal organs of the Welsh and the Irish. It may, however, be premised that this does not follow, as it is to be borne in mind that the normal state of language is that of change, and that the same end may frequently be attained by different means. The end here alluded to is not the ultimate end of language, the expression of thought, but the economy of labour in the articulation of words, the exponents of thought. This, in default of a better name, one may call its economical end. This will appear plainer from a discussion of the

so-called system of mutation of initial consonants in Welsh, and its counterpart in Irish, a subject which, even apart from its relevancy to the question how nearly Welsh and Irish are related, has strong claims on our consideration, though we run the risk of only adding another chapter to the mass of nonsense already written on it. The fact is, our native grammarians, both Welsh and Irish, look at it as at once the peculiarity and the pride of Celtic phonology, and regard it with the same air of mystery and wonderment to which English and German grammarians occasionally give expression *à propos* of the Teutonic *ablautreihe* or sing-sang-sung system of vowel mutation obtaining in languages of that stock. In reality there is nothing peculiar about either excepting the persistency with which they have been carried out; and as to the amount of credit they respectively reflect on the races which in the course of ages unconsciously and cleverly pieced them together, that is a matter on which opinion seems to vary according to the writer's nationality.

The following summary of the more common mutations in Welsh and Irish will be found convenient as we go on:—

	WELSH.	IRISH.		WELSH.	IRISH.
c	g	ch	l } d	llt	l } d'
t	d	th	r } d	rdd	r } d'
p	b	ph	l } b	l } f	l } b'
g	—, (gh)	gh	r } b	r } f	r } b'
d	dd = ð	dh	l } m	l } f	l } m'
b	f = v	bh	r } m	r } f	r } m'
m	f = v	mh	cc	ch	cc, c
gc	gc, γgh	c	tt	th	tt, t
nt	ut, nuh	t	pp	ph or ff	pp, p
mp	mp, mmh	p			
γg	γγ	γγ	ct	e } th	cht
nd	nn	nn		i } th	
mb	mm	mm		y }	
l } c	l } ch	l } c	gg	cc, g'	c, g'
r } c	r } ch	r } c	dd	tt, a'	t, a'
l } t	llt	l } t	bb	pp, b'	p, b'
r } t	rth	r } t	ll	ll	ll
l } p	l } ph	l } p	lr	llrh	lr
r } p	r } ph	r } p	rr	rrh, rh	rr
l } g	l } [gh], l } j	l } g'	rl	rl	rl
r } g	r } [gh], r } j	r } g'	nl	nl	nl
			nr	nrh	nr

Irish mutation, such as that of *c* into *ch*, or *b* into *bh* (pronounced *v*), is commonly called aspiration, and that whereby *nt* becomes *t*, or *nd* *nn*, has been more happily called eclipsis, while our own grammarians have managed to include the Welsh changes corresponding to both sets and others not usual in Irish in the following triad:—

RADICAL.	MIDDLE.	NASAL.	ASPIRATE.
c	g	ngh	ch
t	d	nh	th
p	b	mh	ph
g	...	ng	
d	dd	n	
b	f	m	
ll	l		
m	f		
rh	r		

This neat little scheme is fairly accurate in an etymological sense, but it has not unfrequently been assumed to have a phonological value, which leads to mistakes, such as, for instance, the supposition that *ll* is related to *l* in the same way as *t* to *d*, and not as *th* to *dd* or nearly so. For our present purpose the Welsh consonants may be classified as follows : *—

ORAL CONSONANTS.				NASAL CONSONANTS.	
Mutes.		Spirants.		Spirants.	
Surds.	Sonants.	Surds.	Sonants.	Surds.	Sonants.
c	g	ch	...	ngh	ng
t	d	th	dd	nh	n
p	b	ph or ff	f	mh	m
		ll	l		
		rh	r		
		s			
		h			

Here there are two things which require to be clearly realised : the first is the difference between a mute (otherwise called a stopped or explodent consonant) and a spirant (otherwise called a produced or fricative consonant). Compare, for instance, *p* and *b* with *ph* and *v* : in the former two the breath is suddenly checked and stopped by the lips being brought into contact with one another, while in the latter two there is no com-

* Do *rh*, *ngh*, *nh*, *mh* consist of single consonants, or are they made up of surd *r*, *ng*, *n*, *m* plus *h*, is a question I leave undecided : the latter view seems to suit Welsh phonology somewhat better than the other.

plete stoppage of it, since it is, so to say, allowed to squeeze through without interruption. The next is the distinction between surds (otherwise called voiceless or pneumatic consonants) and sonants (otherwise called voiced or phonetic consonants), as, for instance, between *p* and *b*, or between *ph* and *v*: thus *p* and *ph* in the Celtic languages imply simple breath, while *b* and *v* involve not mere breath, but voice, which the former produces by setting the vocal chords in vibration during its passage through the larynx. It is hardly necessary to state, in so many words, that the vowels are both sonant and spirant, as they are in fact almost pure voice more or less modified in its passage through the mouth or nose.

Now one of the causes which bring about changes in language is the tendency, ever quietly asserting itself, to economise the labour of pronunciation, and it is heterogeneous sounds brought into immediate contact with one another, mutes with spirants, or surds with sonants, that form the hollows to be filled and the hills and mountains to be lowered by the unreasoning laziness of speech: this levelling process is commonly called *assimilation*.

Let us now see how it will enable us to understand the mutations of consonants in Welsh and Irish:—Old Welsh *abal*, ‘an apple,’ and *aper*, ‘a

confluence, a stream,' became in later Welsh *afal* and *aber* respectively; and why? In *abal* the *b* was flanked by vowels, that is, a sonant mute by sonant spirants; and here both Welsh and Irish took the same path, and reduced the mute into a spirant, making *aba* into *ava*, written in Welsh *afa*: in the latter we have a surd mute between sonant spirants; and as language proceeds by degrees, and not by leaps or strides, it had the choice of two courses, and only two:—it might either reduce the surd mute into a sonant mute, thus making *aper* into *aber*, or reduce it into a surd spirant, which would give us *apher*. The former has become the rule in Welsh and the latter in Irish. But Irish in its later stages indulges also in the Welsh mutation: thus such Old Irish words as *cét*, 'hundred,' and *cóic*, 'five,' are now *céad* and *cúig*; and so in other instances where Old Irish *c*, *t*, (*p*?) stood for *nc*, *nt*, (*mp*?).

Here you may ask how these changes, which seem to have nothing to do with initial consonants, have got to be known in Welsh grammar as the mutations of initial consonants, or simply initial mutations. The answer is not far to seek. The action of assimilation in modern Celtic languages is not confined to single words, but in certain cases, which you learned when you were children, and

which you will find enumerated in elementary books on Welsh grammar, two words are taken together so closely in speaking that, for the purposes of phonology, they form as it were one, and not two: thus the initial consonant of the second, assuming it to have one, becomes a quasi-medial, liable to the same changes as an ordinary medial. For instance, though *pen* (Irish *ceann*) is *head*, we say *dy ben* (Ir. *do cheann*), 'thy head,' and *ei ben* (Ir. *á cheann*), 'his head.' Now these mutations and the like are constantly recurring phenomena in Welsh (and Irish) as now spoken and written, and no writer on our grammar could overlook them; while to contrast *aber* with its older form *aper* seldom occurred to them, and when it did, they only found in the latter an orthographical freak of the ancients; and their ideas of the comparative immutability of their mother-tongue led them tacitly to assume that *aper* was always pronounced *aber*. Thus it was natural that they should have called the changes in question initial mutations, to which they ascribed a syntactical rather than a purely phonetic origin.

That our grammarians, however, are not the only class of writers who have failed to acquire a correct idea of this kind of mutation, is proved by the fact that it is the custom of philologists to speak of it as though it were a

property only of consonants flanked by vowels, or, as they briefly term them, vowel-flanked consonants—a description which would lead one to expect that the change could not go on when the consonants are final, or come in contact with the liquids *l* and *r*. Now it is remarkable that these last are present in all the earliest attested cases of this mutation, namely, in the following words from the Oxford and Cambridge Glosses, together with the Luxembourg Folio:—*Dadl* (for *datl*), “concio,” *cedlinau* (for *cetlinau*), ‘to pursue,’ *scribl* (for *scripl*), “scripulus,” *maurdluithruim* (for *maurtluithruim*), “multo vecte,” *ardren* (for *artren*), “præpugnis,” *riglion* (for *riclion*), “garrulis,” *cedlestneuim* (for *cetlestneuim*), “tabe.” Thus the mutation in contact with one of the liquids is the only kind known in the earliest specimens of Old Welsh: between vowels it only began towards the close of that period in the history of the language. The import of this fact, translated into phonology, seems to be that the liquids *l* and *r* have a greater power of assimilation in Welsh than the vowels have. Suppose *l* to stand for *l* or *r*, and *p* for any mute consonant, also *x* for any quantity much greater than 1, then you might roughly say that the tendency of the language to reduce—



$$\begin{aligned} l[p]l &\text{ into } l[b]l = 2x, \\ a[p]l &\text{ into } a[b]l = 2x - 1, \text{ and} \\ a[p]a &\text{ into } a[b]a = 2x - 2. \end{aligned}$$

These equations suggest another, namely, that of $a[p]$ into $a[b] = \frac{2x-2}{2} = x - 1$. Translate this into a chronological form, and it means that final mutes remained proof against mutation after medial ones had been subjected to it; but does this agree with facts? If you turn to any tolerably well-written specimens of Med. Welsh prose, such as most of the Mabinogion are, you will find that it holds true in the case of c , t , p : in fact, such forms as *reded*, *goruc*, *dyfot*, *oet*, *paraut*, continually recur, but final p appears much less frequently in them. Nay, it would seem that traces of this had come down to William Salesbury's time; for he says *à propos* of the letter c : "Also other some there be that sound c as g , in the last termination of a word: example, *oc*, *coc*, *lloc*: whych be most commonly read *og*, *cog*, *llog*" (Ellis' *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 749). This would bring us down into the middle of the 16th century. As to g , d , b , and m , they had long before undergone the mutation in question, whence it may be inferred that their power of resistance was less than that of c , t , p . Thus it would seem that to achieve the nine mutations forming the column headed 'Middle' in the

grammarians' table, it took the language at least eight centuries. Strictly speaking, the process is not yet complete; for, in the Gwentian dialect, Old Welsh *t* medial might be said to be still *t*, as in *oti* (= *ydyw*), 'is,' *ffetog* (= *arphedog*), 'an apron,' *gatel* (= *gadael*), 'to leave,' *retrws* (= *rhedodd*), 'ran,' and innumerable others. But even here it cannot be said that no move has been made towards the complete reduction of *t* into *d*; for the Gwentian *t* in the above words and the like is not our ordinary *t*, but a *t* somewhat softened towards *d*, a variety which I think I have also heard from English peasants in Cheshire. So that, after all, the Gwentian can only be said to have lagged behind the other dialects. This case, however is instructive as casting some light on the question how *t* comes to be mutated into *d*. Thus it appears that Welsh *t* and *d* are only termini, between which an indefinite number of stages have been gone through, somewhat in the following order:—*t*, *t*₁, *t*₂, *t*₃, *t*_{*n*-1}, *t*_{*n*}, = *d*_{*n*}, *d*_{*n*-1}, *d*₃, *d*₂, *d*₁, *d*. The varieties from *t* to *t*_{*n*-1} inclusive would be written *t* by a person writing from dictation, while those from *d*_{*n*-1} to *d* would be written *d*: as to *t*_{*n*} and *d*_{*n*}, he would hesitate between *t* and *d*; and this no doubt is one reason why *t* and *d* were confounded in Med. Welsh, and even indifferently written by the same persons in the same words.

The same remarks, of course, apply to the other surd mutes. It is needless to observe that this kind of confusion could hardly have arisen had *c*, *t*, *p*, been mutated into *g*, *d*, *b*, without any intermediate steps. The view here advanced has, moreover, the advantage of being in perfect keeping with one of the most sacred dogmas of modern philology, that all changes in language proceed by degrees.

X By way of analogies in other languages, it will be worth the while to mention just a sufficient number of instances to show that mutation, in the sense it has in Welsh grammar, is not peculiar to our family of languages. In the first place, it may be pointed out that in Sanskrit *ásit* + *rājā* and *samyak* + *uktam* become *en phrase*: *ásid rājā* or *ásidrājā*, “erat rex,” and *samyaguktam*, ‘well said;’ and so whenever a surd comes before an initial sonant. In the interval between Latin and written Spanish, mutation has regularly proceeded one step, as in *pueblo* and *trinidad* from the Latin *populum* and *trinitatem*: but, since the present orthography, that is as far as concerns the consonants, was established, it seems to have taken another, as *pueblo* is pronounced with *b* like a labial *v*, and *trinidad* with *d* as soft as our *dd*. Lastly, Italian, according to Prince L.-L. Bonaparte,* dis-

* My attention was first called to this coincidence by a mention in Ellis' *Early English Pronunciation* of Prince L.-L. Bonaparte's discovery, which he has briefly given in his preface to *Il Vangelo di S.*

tinguishes a strong and a weak pronunciation of the consonants, which are distributed in very much the same way as the radical and reduced consonants of Welsh, which we have been discussing. So, in this respect, the pronunciation of Italian is now in the same state as that of Welsh must have been just before it had reduced *c* to *g*, and so on. Nor is this all: some of the Italian dialects have gone as far as Welsh in this path of phonetic decay, or even outstripped it. The most remarkable is that of Sassari, in the island of Sardinia, where, for instance, one says *lu gori* for Italian *il cuore*—Welsh *y galon*, ‘the heart’ (radical, *cori, calon*); *la derra* for Ital. *la terra*—Welsh *i dir*, ‘to land’ (radical, *terra, tir*); and *lu bobbulu* for Ital. *il popolo*—Welsh *y bobl*, ‘the people’ (radical, *pobbulu, pobl*): a similar change takes place in the case of radical *g, d, b, s*.

The second group of our mutations consists of the reduction of *γc, nt, mp* into *γγh, nnh, mmh*, and of *γg, nd, mh* into *γγ, nn, mm*, respectively. Let us begin with the latter three: in Mod. Welsh they are written *ng, nn* (or *n*), *mm* (or *m*),

Matteo volgarizzato in Dialetto Sardo Sassarese dal Can. G. Spano (London, 1866). The book is not easy to procure, and I am indebted to the Prince's kindness for a copy of it. Since then I have incurred a similar obligation to Dr. Hugo Schuchardt of Halle, who has written an elaborate article on the subject in the *Romania*. There he discusses the consonants and their mutations much in the same way as I have attempted in this lecture.

and so in Mod. Irish, excepting that, when a quasi-medial is concerned, *nn*, *mm*, are represented by *n-d*, *m-b*, in which the *d* and *b* are not intended to be heard. Thus it is hardly necessary to remark that the assimilation is the same in both languages; however, it seems to have been neither very common in O. Irish, nor so inexorably carried out in the subsequent stages of the language as in Welsh, where we find it an all but accomplished fact in our earliest manuscripts. One of the latest Welsh instances of a medial complex apparently free from its influence occurs in the name *Vendumagl-i* on a stone inscribed in mixed Romano-British and Hiberno-Saxon characters of the 6th, or more probably of the 7th, century: later this name appears in the form *Gwenfael*. To this I will add two or three instances^x more, which will suffice to convince you that what we are discussing is more familiar to you than you have, perhaps, anticipated:—*annaearol*, ‘unearthly,’ for *an* + *daearol*, ‘earthly;’ *cannryll* (pron. *cannrnyll*), ‘a candle,’ from Lat. *candela*; *am* (pron. *amm*), ‘about,’ Ir. *imm*, *im*, represented in O. Gaulish by *ambi*, and in Greek by ἀμφι; *cam* (pron. *camm*), ‘crooked,’ Ir. *camm*, *cam*, for *camb*—as in the O. Gaulish *Cambodunum*. The same thing also happens when the mute is a quasi-medial, as, for example, after the proclitic

preposition *yn*, 'in,' as when we say *yn Nimbych*, 'in Denbigh,' *yn ninas Dafydd*, 'in the city of David,' for *yn + Dimbych* and *yn + dinas*: so in other cases too numerous to mention.

To return to the other three, they are, after undergoing eclipse, as Irish grammarians call it, written in Mod. Welsh *ngh*, *nnh*, *mmh*, which imply a process that requires some explanation. The veteran phonologist, Mr. Alexander J. Ellis, who has written extensively and elaborately on *Early English Pronunciation*, considers that the *n* in the English word *tent* is partially assimilated to the following mute, and that it becomes a surd which he would write *nh*: thus he would represent *tent* as pronounced *tennht*, and similarly *tempt*, *sink*, as *temmht*, *siqqhk*—his *q* means the sound of *ng* in *sing*, for which I have made use of *γ*. It is hardly probable, however, that any ordinary orthography would take cognizance of the difference between surd and sonant nasals in the positions here indicated, and I am inclined to think that the Welsh of old who wrote *hanther*, now *hanner*, 'half,' and *pimphet*, now *pummed*, 'fifth,' meant something more than this. As the spirants *th*, *ph*, are out of the question, it is not improbable that *nth*, *mph*, were intended to be pronounced *nh't'h*, *mhp'h*, that is, the complexes *nt*, *mp*, were to be aspirated, which we may express

by writing them [nt]h, [mp]h, respectively. So far Irish may possibly have proceeded on the same course as Welsh, but no further; for the next step it takes is to allow the nasal, whether it was surd or sonant, to disappear, leaving the preceding vowel in certain cases—possibly only when it had the tone—lengthened to preserve the quantity of the syllable. Thus it converts such a form as *dent* into *dét*, ‘a tooth,’ that is *dét*, for the Irish use the acute accent to indicate quantity. Now *dét* is in Welsh *dant*, which is free from the eclipse, but not so its derivative *dannheddog*, ‘toothed.’ Here not only has *nt* become [nt]h, but the nasal which began to be assimilated by the oral consonant eventually vanquished the latter and completely assimilated it to itself in its altered condition, so that for [nt]h we get [nn]h, that is, in our ordinary orthography, *nnh*. Other instances, such as *tymmhor*, ‘a season,’ plural *tymmhorau*, from the Latin *tempus*, *temporis*, and *annheilwng*, ‘unworthy,’ for *an* + *teilwng*, ‘worthy,’ are so common that I need not mention more of them; nor is it requisite to dwell on the similar eclipse of quasi-medial *c*, *t*, *p*, as, for instance, in *yn nghwsg* (pron. *y’ngchwsg*), ‘asleep,’ *yn Nhywyn*, ‘at Towyn,’ for *yn* + *chwsg* and *yn* + *Twyn*. But why, to revert to one of the instances just mentioned, should *tymmhor*, which seems to have been preceded by *ty*[mp]hor

or *tymhp'hor*, for Latin *tempor-*, have taken the place of that form? that is, why should *p'h* have yielded its place to *mh*? Here, as before, the answer must be sought in the tendency of language to lessen by assimilation the labour of utterance. Thus, in the case before us, the *p'h* (oral, mute, surd) stands between *mh* (nasal, spirant, surd) and the vowel *o* (oral, spirant, sonant): so it seems perfectly intelligible that the language, proceeding by degrees, should replace *p'h* by a surd spirant; but that would leave us in the dilemma of having to decide between the nasal spirant *mh* and the oral spirant *ph* (= *ff*), that is, between *tymmhor* and *tymphor*. This, however, an unerring instinct does for us in favour of *tymmhor*,* the reason probably being, that, as we have already seen in another case, the assimilative power of a consonant is greater than that of a vowel, that is, in this instance, of *m* than of *o*.

Thus far we have traced *γc*, *nt*, *mp*, through two stages of modification: sometimes, however, the language goes a step or two further, and in cer-

* Substitute for the vowel *i* or *r*, and the reverse takes place, the oral consonants having, it would seem, more assimilative force than the nasal. The instances are not very numerous—I may mention *celhr*, 'a nail, a spike,' for *centhr*, Breton *kentr*, borrowed from the Latin *centrum*, and *cathl*, 'a song,' for *canthl*, whence the O. Welsh *centhliat*, "canorus;" the gloss occurs in the Juvencus Codex on the words *Davidæ canorum*, and would now be *cethliad*: the disappearance of the nasal is a later step, which has nothing to do with the assimilation in question.

tain cases even confounds the representatives of these complexes with those of *yg*, *nd*, *mb*:—(1.) In Mod. Welsh we find it difficult to double a consonant not immediately following the tone-vowel, consequently such words as *dannheddog* and *annheilwng* become *danheddog* and *anheilwng* in pronunciation. Similarly we neither speak nor write *fyn nhad*, *fym mhen*, but always *fy nhad*, ‘my father,’ *fy mhen*, ‘my head,’ for *fyn* + *tad* and *fyn* + *pen*, the possessive pronoun being a proclitic, which never has the tone. It must, by the way, be explained, that although in book Welsh the word is written *fy*, even before vowels, as in *fy enw*, ‘my name,’ liable to become in North Wales *f’enw*, and so in other cases, the old form of it was *min*, which is still duly represented in South Wales by *fyn*—in North Cardiganshire it sometimes becomes *fyng*, like *pring* for *prin*, ‘scarce’—as in *fyn enw*, ‘my name,’ *fyn oen*, ‘my lamb,’ *fyn arian*, ‘my money,’ and the like: it is this full form *fyn* that must be considered in the eclipsis. Add to the foregoing the case of *yg*, *nd*, *mb*, which is similar. Thus we say *fy nydd*, ‘my day,’ *fy mrawd*, ‘my brother,’ not *fyn nydd*, *fym mrawd*, for *fyn* + *dydd* and *fym* + *brawd*: similarly we say *saith mlynedd*, ‘seven years,’ for *saith’n* + *blynedd*, Irish *seacht m-bliadhna* (pron. *seacht mliadhna*); for *saith* is one of our numerals which originally ended in *n*, matched in Latin by the *m*

of *septem*, *novem*, *decem*; and such a phrase as *saiðh mlynedd* is an interesting instance of a fact remaining long after one of its factors is clean gone. Occasionally the nasal is also simplified when it happens to be medial, as in *ymenyn*, 'butter,' for which one might have expected *ymmenyn* for *ymb-en-yn*: the Breton forms are *amanenn*, *amann*, and the Irish *imb*, *imm*, *im*, all from the root *ANGV*, whence also Lat. *unguo*, 'I smear or besmear,' Allemanic *anko*, *ancho*, 'butter.'

(2.) The surd is liable to become a sonant unless it comes immediately before the tone-vowel: thus such words as *ànghlod*, 'disrepute,' *àmmheu*, 'to doubt,' *tỳmmhor*, 'a season,' are sometimes pronounced *ànglod*, *àmmeu*, *tỳmmor*; that is, a second process of assimilation has taken place in them; but it is prevented by the position of the tone in *ammhéuaeth*, 'doubt,' and *tymmhórau*, 'seasons.' In words such as the following no trace of the surd is to be found:—*cànnoedd*, 'hundreds,' *dànnedd*, 'teeth,' which is followed by the North-walian pronunciation of *dannhéddog* as *danéddog*, *tànnau*, 'chords,' *trèngu*, 'to expire,' from *trangc*, 'death,' and many others. As to such words as *úgain*, 'twenty,' and *àrjan*, 'money,' for *ugaint* and *arjant*, they seem to be instances of the retreat of the accent from the ultima to the penultima, accompanied by the reduction and the simplification of the nasal: a similar remark would seem to

apply to the colloquial form of the third person plural of verbs, as when *ydynt*, 'sunt,' *clywsant*, 'audiverunt,' *rhedent*, 'currebant,' are made into *ydyn*, *clywsan*, *rheden*, a pronunciation which no one would, however, use when reading in public. The case of the word *ymènnnydd*, 'brain,' is different and somewhat exceptional: as the Breton is *em-penn*, and the Irish *inchinn*, genit. *inchinne* (compare the Greek ἐγκέφαλος), we might expect it to be in Welsh *ymmhènnnydd* or *ymhènnnydd* for *yn-penn-ydd*. The explanation would seem to be that the word was formerly accented *ymennýdd*.

It has already been hinted that *g*, *d*, *b*, have less power of resistance than *c*, *t*, *p*: this is confirmed by the history of the modifications we are now discussing. Thus, while the eclipse has in the case of the former three been approximately ascribed to the 7th century, few instances of its affecting the latter are to be found in the range of O. Welsh, but as we pass on to Mod. Welsh we find it far from unusual in a manuscript which Aneurin Owen supposed to be of the 12th century. I allude to the Venedotian version of the *Laws of Wales*. Later, in the *Mabinogion*, we have such forms as *cyghor* (pron. *cyryghor*), 'counsel, council,' *amherandyr*, 'emperor,' from Lat. *imperator*, side by side with *ympen*, 'in the head,' *ygkairllion*, 'at Caerleon,' which are now pronounced *ymhènn* and *yrphaerlléon*; and so in other cases. In

instances of this kind a disinclination to obscure what may be called the dictionary form of words must be regarded as having for a time stemmed the current of phonetic decay. Still later Salesbury is found indulging in such 'combinations as *yn-pell*, 'far,' and *yn-carchar*, 'in prison;' but according to his own account the mutes following *n* were dead letters, which he only meant to appeal to the eye: it is easier to forgive him this than such freaks of fancy as *vy-tat*, *vy-bot*, for *vy nhat*, 'my father,' and *vy mot*, 'my being,' which do much to detract from the phonological value of his writings. Perhaps one of the last conquests which eclipsis has made in Welsh occurs in our colloquial *ynhŵy*, *ynhŵ*, *nhŵ*, for the written *hwynt-hŵy*, that is, *hwynt-hŵy*, 'they.' For I need hardly say that one or more words have already been cited which may have reminded you that those conquests have hitherto not been complete;—whether that would continue to apply to them, supposing the language to live long enough, is a question which it would not be easy now to answer. In the first part of this lecture it was noticed that the reduction of $a[p]a$ into $a[b]a$ took place earlier than that of $a[p]$ into $a[b]$: the parallels to these in the case of eclipsis are the reduction of $m\acute{h}[p'h]a$ into $m\acute{h}[m\acute{h}]a$ and that of $m\acute{h}[p'h]$ into $m\acute{h}[m\acute{h}]$, that is in pronunciation, as this concerns a final consonant, *mm*, now commonly written *m*. Now it is

mainly words which come under this formula that have successfully resisted eclipsis, such, for instance, as the following:—*dant*, ‘a tooth,’ plural *dannedd*; *hynt*, ‘a journey,’ O. Ir. *sét*; *pump*, ‘five,’ O. Ir. *cóic*; *tant*, ‘a chord,’ plural *tannau*, O. Ir. *tét*, Mod. Ir. *téud*; *meddiant*, ‘possession,’ plural *meddian-nau*. To these may be added *cant*, ‘a hundred,’ plural *cannoedd*, O. Ir. *cét*, Mod. *céad*, which forms a sort of compromise between the rule and the exception; for we say *pedwar cant*, ‘four hundred,’ but *can* (pron. *cann*) *erw*, ‘a hundred acres,’ and *can ych*, ‘a hundred oxen.’

Now that the ground which this part of our inquiry should cover has been rapidly run over, it may be added that there is nothing in eclipsis which may be regarded as peculiar to the Celtic languages; but I will only cite from other languages just a sufficient number of analogous instances to indicate some of the quarters where more may be found. (a.) You may have wondered how such English words as the following, now pronounced *dumm*, *lamm*, *clime*, came to be written *dumb*, *lamb*, *climb*: the answer of course is that the *b* in them was formerly pronounced, and that this is merely a case of the spelling lagging behind the pronunciation—*littera scripta manet*. To this class of words may be added the modern *woodbine*, which at an earlier stage of the language was written *wudubind*;

and, to come down to our own day, all of you have heard London called *Lunnun*. Beyond the Tweed this and more of the kind may be considered classic: witness the following stanza from Burns' *Five Carlins*:—

“ Then neist came in a sodger youth,
And spak wi' modest grace,
An' he wad gae to Lon'on town
If sae their pleasure was.”

Here may also be mentioned, that there are German dialects which habitually use *kinner*, *runner*, *nennen*, *unner*, *brannwin*, for the book-forms *kinder*, *wunder*, *nenden*, *unter*, *branntwein*. Similarly in O. Norse *bann* and *lann* are found for *band* and *land*, not to mention the common reduction of *nð* into *nn* as in *finna*, ‘to find,’ *annar*, ‘other’ (German *ander*), *munnr*, ‘mouth’ (Ger. *mund*), and the like. (b.) Diez in his grammar of the Romance languages supplies a variety of instances in point, such as the following:—Sicilian, *abbunnari*, ‘abundare,’ *accenniri*, ‘accendere;’ Neapolitan, *chiommo*, ‘plumbum,’ *munno*, ‘mundus.’ And it is perhaps by assimilation that *nd*, *nt* final have become *n* in Provençal, as in *gran*, ‘grandis,’ *preon*, ‘profundus,’ *fron*, ‘frons, frontis,’ *den*, ‘dens, dentis,’ and *joven*, ‘juventus.’ (c.) So far I have failed to discover an exact parallel to the Welsh eclipse of *c*, *t*, *p*, leaving the nasals in a surd state as in our stock instance *tymmhôr* from *tempus*,

temporis; but this is probably to be attributed to my very limited acquaintance with the exact pronunciation of other languages. It would not, however, be altogether irrelevant here to mention Mr. Ellis' account of the sound of *n*, for instance, in the word *tent*, which he regards as pronounced *tenht* or *tennht*, and to add that he further finds that in Icelandic *n* coming after *t* or *k* is also made into *nh*, as in *vatn*, 'water,' *regn*, 'rain,' pronounced *vatnh* and *regknh* respectively. Now there can be no doubt that at one time English *kn* also was, provincially or generally, pronounced *knh*; for when the *k* ceased to be heard in such words as *knave*, *knee*, *know*, the *nh* still remained, a point amply proved by Cooper, who published, in 1685, a work entitled *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae*, from which Mr. Ellis cites no fewer than five passages giving the then English pronunciation of *kn* as *kn*. This *kn*, which we are wont to write *nh*, and Cooper mentions in company with *zh*, *mh*, *sh*, *th*, as having no place in the alphabet, found its way into Wales, nor has it to this day quite disappeared from our pronunciation of English. When I was a boy, our schoolmasters in Cardiganshire prided themselves on the many things they *nhem*, and favoured the boys who strove to benefit by their superior *nhomledge*, but as to the young *nhaves* who preferred idling, they had their laziness liter-

ally *nhocked* out of them in no pleasant manner: in fact, there are Welshmen not a few still living who have never lost the *nhnowledge* thus *nhocked* into them when they were boys.

The next mutations to be noticed, in the order given in the table we have been following, that is, if we reserve *lt* for a special mention, and omit *lp* for want of sure instances, are those of *lc*, *rc*, *rt*, *rp*, into *lch*, *rch*, *rth*, *rph* (or *rff*), as in the following words:—*golchi*, ‘to wash,’ O. Irish *folcaim*, “humecto, lavo;” *march*, ‘a steed,’ whence *marchog*, ‘a knight,’ Ir. *marcach*; *nerth*, ‘strength,’ whence *nerthfawr*, ‘powerful,’ O. Ir. *nertmar*, Gaul. *Nertomarus*; *corff*, ‘a body,’ plural *cyrff* and *corffo-roedd*, Ir. *corp* (Lat. *corpus*, *corporis*); *gorphen*, ‘to finish,’ from *pen*, ‘head, end,’ with the prefix *gor*. The formula of the reduction in these words and the like is not that of *r[p]a* but of *rh[p]a* into *rh[p̄h]a*, that is, for instance, the Latin *corpus* was, in Welsh mouths, *corhpus*, with *p* (surd, mute) between *rh* (surd, spirant) and *u* (sonant, spirant), so that under the combined influence of its two neighbour-sounds it had to be changed into *ph* (*ff*), which gives us *corff* and not *corb*, as might be expected were *corpus* to be treated as such and not as *corhpus*. Even now, if I am not mistaken, the liquids in *corff* and *golchi* are not quite the sonants *r* and *l*, but rather *rh* and *lh*; or, perhaps,

it would be more correct to say that they begin as sonants and end as surds, to be timed $\frac{r+r^h}{2}$ and $\frac{l+l^h}{2}$ respectively. Thus following Mr. Ellis' palæo-type representation of *tent* as *tennht*, we might say that these words are pronounced *corrhhff* and *gol-lhchi*. When the spirants *ch*, *th*, *ph*, began to take the places of the corresponding mutes in the positions here indicated, it would now be hard to say; however, our earliest specimens, scanty as they are, of O. Welsh of the 9th century exhibit them on much the same footing in the language then as now. It is true that occasionally *c*, *t*, *p*, are to be met with for *ch*, *th*, *ph*, but that is probably rather the result of carelessness in writing than of any uncertainty in the pronunciation. This phonetic change is not a very common one in European languages; but we seem to have an implied instance of it in the Sassarese dialect in such words as *balca* (Ital. *barca*) and *alchi* (Ital. *archi*, with the *ch*, as usual in Italian, standing for the sound of *k*): the present pronunciation is given by Prince L.-L. Bonaparte as *baχχa* and *aχχi*, so that the intermediate stage can hardly but have been *balχa* and *alχi* or *barχa* and *arχi*.

The next mutations in the table are those of *rd*, *lb*, *rh*, into *rdd*, *lf*, *rf*, to which may be added those of *lm*, *rm*, into *lf*, *rf*. They need not be here dwelt upon, as the same explanation applies to them as

to vowel-flanked consonants and others mentioned at the outset. But as to *lg*, *rg*, it is to be noticed that even in O. Welsh they had the sound of *lgh*, *rggh*, with *gh* sounded as the sonant spirant which may sometimes be heard in such German words as *liegen*, 'to lie,' and *regen*, 'rain.' In the Oxford Glosses on *Ovid's Art of Love* we have this once written *gh*, namely in *helghati*, "venare," that is, *helgha ti*, 'do thou hunt;' but in the Cambridge Glosses on *Martianus Capella* we have it written *ch* in the verbal noun in the phrase *in helcha*, 'in venando,' now *yn hela*, 'in hunting:' compare the Irish *seilg*, 'a hunting, venison.' Probably the sound was the same even where *g* continued to be written, as in O. Welsh *colginn*, 'aristum,' now *colyn*, 'a sting.' The next step was to omit the consonant altogether, as in the last-mentioned instance, or else to change it into *j* as in *helghati*, now *helja di*; and in such words as *arjan*, 'silver,' O. Welsh *argant*, Breton *arc'hant*, O. Ir. *argat*, now *airgead*, from Latin *argentum*, *tarjan*, 'a shield,' from O. English *targe*, genitive *targan*; to which may be added proper names in *gen*, such as O. Welsh *Morgen*, *Urbgen*, later *Morjen*, *Urjen*.

Next in order come *ch*, *th*, *ph*, for *cc*, *tt*, *pp* respectively, as in *sach* 'a sack, from Latin *saccus*, *saeth* 'an arrow,' from *sagitta*, and *cuff* 'a stump, trunk, stem,' from *cippus*. The same thing hap-

pens in the case of quasi-medials, as, for instance, when we use *ac* 'and,' *tri* 'three,' which stands for an earlier *tris*, or *ei* 'her,' which originally also ended in *s*, as in the following examples:—*ci a chath* 'a dog and a cat,' for *ci ac + cath*; *ty a than* 'house and fire,' for *ty at + tan = ty ac + tan*; *tri phen* 'three heads,' for *trip + pen = tris + pen*; *ei chlust* 'her ear,' for *eic + clust = eis + clust*; whereas 'his ear' would be *ei glust*, because *ei* masculine originally ended in a vowel—the Sanskrit for *ejus* is *asya* 'his,' *asyās* 'her.' This mutation, so common in Welsh, to which I have hitherto failed to find a parallel elsewhere, is probably to be explained as follows:—Take for instance the Latin word *cippus*, which the Welsh borrowed into their own language. Here the vowels *i* and *u* are separated by two *p*'s, whereof the one is implosive, or formed when the lips are brought together, and the other explosive, or formed when the contact ceases. Now the assimilative force of the vowels would tend to reduce the word to *cibbus* or *ciphphus*. But the double consonant generally also implies a more violent ejection of air from the lungs than is usual in the case of a single one, a circumstance which is directly antagonistic to any reduction in the direction of *p* to *b*: so *cibbus* is ruled out of the field. Of course, in the case of our supposed form *ciphphus*, the two *ph*'s being

continuous sounds, could not fail to merge themselves into one, that is to say, if they were not to be so regarded from the first. In either case the result would be *ciphus* or *ciffus*, whence our *cuff*. Then as to the time when this mutation became the rule, that may be determined between certain wide limits. It is an accomplished fact in the 9th century, whereas about the middle of the 6th century a Continental writer speaks of our *crnoth* as "*chrotta* Britanna." So it may be ascribed to the 7th or the 8th century, probably the former, for which our inscriptional evidence seems to make: an Anglesey tombstone bears the name *Decceti*, while another, in Devonshire, in letters tending to the Hiberno-Saxon style, gives it the form *Decheti*. Still more instructive is an inscription from Carmarthenshire which mentions a man called *Lunar[c]hi Cocci*, in letters which can hardly be earlier than the middle of the 6th century. This last clearly shows that *rc* had become *rch* before *cc* had yielded *ch* as in *coch* 'red,' the modern representative of *cocc-i*; a fact which is quite in harmony with what has already been said as to the relative force of vowels and consonants for assimilation.

The transition of such a word as *cippus* into *ciphphus* or *ciphph* would lead one to expect *fructus* to have become in Welsh, in the first instance,

fruchthus or *fruchth*, but we have no evidence whatever for such a form. In the earliest O. Welsh we have *ith* in the place of *chth*, and, accordingly, *fruith*, now *ffrwyth*, 'fruit,' for *fructus*; and so in native words, such as *wyth*, 'eight,' for *oct*, Ir. *ocht*, Lat. *octo*; *rhaith*, 'law,' for *rect*-, Ir. *recht*, Lat. *rectum*, Eng. *right*. Did *chth* become *ith* without any intermediate stage of pronunciation? That is hardly probable, and the next thing is to suppose the steps to have been *ct*, *chth*, *ghth*, *ith*, or rather *ct*, *cht*, *chth*, *ghth*, *ith*, as the Irish equivalent is still written *cht*, though the pronunciation, it is true, approaches *chth* or *chtth*. And it is not improbable that *cht* dates from the period of Goidelo-Kymric unity, if not earlier; and it is to be noticed that, as *ht*, *cht*, or *ght*, it is common to the Teutonic languages, where it would accordingly seem to date before their separation from one another: take for instance the English word *might*, formerly written *meaht*, *miht*, Ger. *macht*, Gothic *mahts*. Then, in the next place, as to the transition of *cht* into *chth*, it is just what the analogy of *rth*, *rch*, for *rt*, *rc*, would lead one to expect in Welsh; but a more questionable step is the softening, here supposed, of *chth* into *ghth*. However, the pronunciation offers no difficulty, as it is easy to begin the *gh* as a sonant spirant and to finish the *th* as a surd one; in point of assimi-

lation, such a syllable as *acht* offers in its *ch* a compromise between the *a* and the *t*. Moreover, English orthography seems to have registered an analogous process in such words as *night*, which was formerly written *neaht*, *naht*, *niht*, then *nigt* and *night*. The *gh* was sounded in English in William Salesbury's time, who describes it as softer than Welsh *ch*, but otherwise of the same character. The change of spelling from *h* to *gh* was preparatory in some of the instances to its ceasing altogether to have the power of a consonant, which happened with the same result as in Welsh. Take again the word *night* with its short *i* (as in *pin*) lengthened eventually at the expense of the *gh* into *ī* (as in Welsh, or *ee* in the English *beech*)—the subsequent diphthongisation of that *ī* into the *ei* of our own day, which permits our writing *night* in Welsh spelling as *neit*, does not concern us here—and compare the Welsh word *brīth*, feminine *braith*, 'spotted, party-coloured;' *brīth* stands for a much earlier *brīct*, which may be supposed to have successively become *brīcht*, *brīchth*, *brīghth*, *brīth*; while the feminine stands for *brīctā*, which would have to pass through the stages *brīchta*, *brechtha*, *breghta*, *breith*, on its way to our present Welsh *braith*. The presence of an *i* for the first consonant in the combination in question is common to Welsh with French, as

in the Old Welsh *fruith*, now *ffrwyth*, French, *fruit*, and so in other instances, a coincidence which the advocates of the Gallo-British theory should make the best of; but as words borrowed into Welsh from Latin follow the same rule in this as native ones, it is probable that *chth*, *ghth*, date after the Romans came to our shores, and the only inscription bearing on this point seems to favour that supposition, as far at least as concerns *ghth*. It comes from Pembrokeshire, and is in letters which may, perhaps, be assigned to the latter part of the 6th century: they can hardly be much earlier. The reading seems to be *Nog-tivis Fili Demeti*; the Ogam differs, but it ~~certainly~~ ^{possibly} begins with *nogt*, which I take to mean *noghth* rather than *noght*, as I fail to see how the latter form could have arisen: *noghth* would be the prototype of one of the words which have the form *noeth* in Mod. Welsh; that is to say, *noeth*, 'naked,' Ir. *nocht*, and *noeth*, 'night,' as in *he-noeth*, 'to-night,' Mod. Ir. *anocht*. By *gh* is here meant the same sound which yielded *j* in *helja* and *Morjen* already mentioned, and which, as the continuator of *g* followed by *l*, *r*, or *n*, is replaced in Mod. Welsh by the vowel *e* in such words as *Mael* for O. Welsh *mail* = *magl*, as in Gildas' *Maglocuni*, *aer*, 'a battle,' O. Welsh, *air* = *agr*-, of the same origin as the Greek *ἄρπα*, 'a catching, hunt-

ing, the chase,' and *oen*, 'a lamb,' O. Welsh, *oin* = *ogn*-, of the same origin as Latin *agnus*. Irish is satisfied with merely lengthening the vowels by way of compensation, so that the foregoing words assume in that language the form *Mál*, *ár*, and *úan* = *ōn*. These guesses, which cannot seem less satisfactory to you than they do to me, would look incomplete without a mention of *pt*; but as *pt* is supposed to have been changed at a very early date into *ct*, it has no history of its own. Thus our *saith*, 'seven,' formerly *seith*, is regarded as the direct representative of a Goidelo-Kymric *secht* or *sect* for an Aryan *saptan*, which is rendered probable by the Irish form, which is now *seacht*, formerly *secht*. And it is worthy of notice that the only Latin loan-word with *pt* has been treated in Welsh differently from those with *ct*: I allude to *pregeth*, 'a sermon,' from *præceptum*, 'a maxim, rule, injunction, doctrine'—compare also *Yr Aipht*, 'Egypt,' for 'H Αἴγυπτος.

We have not yet done with the table we set out with: there still remain the items in Italics. Instances have been noticed of the reduction of *c*, *t*, *p*, into *g*, *d*, *b*, but now we have to deal with changes which seem to take the other direction, as when *gg* becomes *cc* and the like: this kind of mutation may, in default of a more appropriate term, be called *protection*. But when *c*, for

instance, is reduced in Welsh to *g*, we know that to be an instance of assimilation tending to lighten the labour of articulation; however, it is not to be assumed that provection is a kind of dissimilation to increase it. Let us begin with the more palpable cases in point: what makes it so difficult to teach a Welshman not to make the English words *bag*, *pod*, *tub*, into *back*, *pot*, *tup*, or to get an Englishman to pronounce the word *eisteddfod* correctly as *eistedvod*, and not as *eistethphod*? It cannot be that *pod* is made into *pot* because the *o* is followed by a mute or a stopped consonant, for *t* and *d* are the same in that respect; and in the other case *th* and *dd* are both spirants or continued consonants. X Thus it is clear that these changes do not depend on any of the qualities serving as a basis for the classification of consonants into mutes and spirants into surds and sonants. Another glance at the table will show that, when provection takes place, more consonants than one are concerned. Now it happens almost uniformly in Welsh, that when an accented vowel is followed by a combination of consonants, it has a closed pronunciation, which implies a hasty and forced ejection of air from the lungs. This high pressure, so to say, is not favourable to the pronunciation of such consonants as *g*, *d*, *b*, *dd*, *f*, as they require the organs of speech to be brought together much more gently

and slowly than in the case of the corresponding surds. Hence it is clear that when a Welshman makes *bag* into *back*, or an Englishman *eisteddfod* into *eistethphod*, these are cases of assimilation based on a third principle, the force of the vowels, and, in the instances before us, the assimilation distinctly amounts to the substitution of an easier for a harder pronunciation.

It is hardly necessary to state that the use made of provection is only sporadic in Welsh as compared with the other kinds of assimilation and their far-reaching effects on the words of the language. In Irish, however, it plays a considerably more important part, whence another divergence between the two languages, especially in words which, in O. Welsh and O. Irish, contained the combinations *lb*, *rb*, *rd*, seeing that in later Welsh they are *lf*, *rf*, *rdd*, and in Irish *lb*, *rb*, *rd*, or even *lp*, *rp*, *rt*. Thus the O. Welsh *gilbin* becomes *gylfin*, 'a bird's bill or beak,' while the Irish is *gulba*, which also occurs with a *p* instead of *b*; and the Latin *ordo* appears in Welsh as *urdd*, 'an order,' and in Irish as *ordd* or *ort*, genitive *uirdd* or *uirt*. It may not be wholly devoid of interest to you to find that there are cases of provection in English in such forms, for instance, as the perfects *meant*, O. English *mænde*, *mende*; *dreamt*, O. Eng. *dremde*; *dealt*, O. Eng. *dælde*,

delde; *felt*, O. Eng. *felde*, *felte*, to which may be added others such as *built*, O. Eng. *bulde*, and *bent*, O. Eng. *bende*. The same thing happens when the ending *ard* becomes *art* as in *braggart*, *sweetheart*, a change which invariably takes place in Mod. Welsh when words of this category are borrowed, as, for instance, in *godart*, 'a kind of cup,' *somgart*, 'a riding habit,' *llemgart*, *Rhisiart*, from *goddard*, *safeguard*, *leopard*, *Richard*.

But, to proceed to instances of a more respectable antiquity, we come to *gg*, *dd*, *bb*, yielding mutes: in order to avoid confusion they must be treated as belonging to two strata of different dates. The later of them belongs to Mediæval and Modern Welsh, and dates after most of the reductions already discussed had taken place, as, for instance, in such words as these: *cyttuno*, 'to agree, to bargain,' for *cyd* + *duno*, 'to unite, agree,' *yspytty*, 'a hospice,' for *yspyd* + *dy* (for *ty*, 'a house'); *lletty*, 'lodgings, an inn,' for *lled* + *dy*. Here it is to be observed that when the tone falls on the vowel immediately preceding the mutes in question, the vowel is shortened and forced while the mute is doubled; but as soon as the tone shifts, the vowel is slackened and the mute simplified. However, it is usual to write *lletty* 'lodgings' and *llettya* 'to lodge,' or else *llety* and *lletya*; but neither orthography is accurate and

consistent, for the words being accented on the penultima as usual, are pronounced *lletty* and *lletya*. This would perhaps be most readily indicated for the benefit of strangers desirous of learning our language by writing *llety* and *lletya*. Similarly in cases of assimilation we should have to write, for instance, *atebodd*, 'respondit,' and *ateb*, 'respondere,' for *ad* plus *heb* as in *gohebu*, 'to correspond by letter;' in O. Welsh it is *hep*, 'quoth,' for a European *saqv-*, whence the English *say*, German *sagen*, and the Lithuanian *atsakyti*, which is all but bodily equivalent to our *ateb*.

The other stratum of instances alluded to belongs to O. Welsh, and they are, as might be expected, few in number. *Aperth*, now *aberth*, 'a sacrifice, an offering,' would seem to be one, as it admits of being analysed into (*ap-perth* for) *ab-berth* = *ad-berth*: the O. Irish forms are *edbart*, *edpart*, *id-part* (Zeuss², p. 869), all from the root *ber*, the Celtic equivalent of *fer*, in Lat. *fer-o*, Greek *φέρω*, 'I bear.' The analysis of the Old Welsh *aper*, now *aber*, 'the mouth of a river,' would disclose the same root, if one is right in understanding the word originally to mean the volume of water which a river *bears* or *brings* into the sea or into another river. Compare Umbrian *arfert-ur* (for *ad-fert-ur*), 'allator, oblator,' and *arferia*, glossed by Festus "aqua quæ inferis libabatur."

To the working of the same principle in O. Welsh we are probably to trace *apati*, for *abbati*, in a Latin inscription in Hiberno-Saxon characters on a stone at Llantwit in South Wales. Similarly Welsh *cred-u*, 'to believe,' for an earlier *cret-u*, O. Irish *creitem*, 'faith,' neither of which seems to be derivable from Latin *cred-o*, is rather to be compared with Sanskrit *çraddhā*,^x 'trusting, faithful,' *çraddhāna*, 'faith,' *çraddhātavya* = Welsh *credadmy*, 'to be believed.' We may probably assume that *aperth* stands for an earlier *apperth* (= *abberth* = *adberth*), and the conclusion seems natural, that the simplification of the mute implies that the accent was on the ultima: unfortunately we cannot be said to know much about its position in O. Welsh. However, the fact that *aperth*, for instance, was pronounced *aperth* and not *apperth* in the latter part of the O. Welsh period is rendered certain by its further reduction in later Welsh into *aberth*: so with the other instances.

Before leaving this point, you may wish to know if anything corresponding happens in the case of quasi-medials, that is, if we have parallels to the phrases already mentioned, *ci a chath*, *ty a than*, and *ei chlust*. There are such, and the following will do as instances: *tri gair*, 'three words,' *ceiniog a dimai*, 'a penny and a halfpenny,' *ei bara*, 'her bread.' These might at first sight seem to be

hardly in point, the forms to be expected being *tri cair, ceiniog a timai, ei para*; however, looking at the actual ones, you will observe that the language has not set out from *tri gair, a dimai, ei bara*, for in that case we should now have by reduction *tri air, a ddimai, ei fara*—this last does occur, but it means ‘his bread,’ and not ‘her bread.’ The fact is, *tri gair*, for instance, with a *g* that resists reduction, stands for *trig + gair* for an earlier *tris + gair*. It is this kind of strengthened *g* that has been entered in the table as *g’*. A similar remark applies to *d’* and *b’*.

We now pass to the consideration of *lt* and *ld*, as to the former of which, it is possible that *lt*, in the first instance, became *lht* by assimilation; but *lh*, though a surd, is not the sound we write *ll*, which roughly speaking stands to *l* as *f* to *v*, or *th* in ‘thin’ to *th* in ‘this.’ What is the exact relation in which our *ll* stands to *lh*? would a change from *lh* into *ll* be a case of provection, or is *ll* due altogether to the influence of the *t* following it? These are questions which I must leave in the hands of those who make the physiology of speech their special study. The combination *ld* also yields *llt*, for the *d* in *melldith*, ‘a curse,’ and *melldigo*, ‘to curse,’ from the Latin *maledictio* and *maledicere*, is merely historical, the pronunciation being *melltith* and *melltigo*; nor does anybody, so

far as I can remember, write *swlld* and *cysylldu* for *swllt*, 'a shilling,' and *cysylltu*, 'to join, to connect,' as it is not very generally known that these two words are borrowed from the Latin *soldus* or *solidus* and *consolidare*. In the change of *ld* into *llt*, language probably proceeded, as usual, by degrees: in the first instance *ld* became *lt* by provection, which, by the way, is shared by Breton, for it is from *lt* it must have arrived at the vocalised *ut*, *ot*, which it opposes to our *llt*. The next step was to make *lt*, *lht*, into *llt*; so that the representatives of early *lt* and *ld* could no longer be kept apart, having in both instances got to be *llt*, subject to be further modified by assimilation into *ll-ll*, that is *ll*, as in Welsh *allawr*, *allor*, 'an altar,' Breton *auter*, Ir. *altóir*, from Latin *altare*; *callawr*, 'a cauldron,' Bret. *cauter*, *caoter*, from Latin *caldarium*—compare French *chaudière*, 'a boiler or copper;' *cylllell*, 'a knife,' from Lat. *cultellus*—compare French *couteau*; *ellyn*, 'a razor,' Bret. *aotenn*, Ir. *altan*. In several of these words this was an accomplished change in O. Cornish; for example, we have *ellyn* and *cylllell* in the later Oxford Glosses written *elinn* and *celleell*, and still earlier we find *callawr* written *calaur* in the well-known O. Welsh triplets beginning "Niguorcosam nemheunaur" in the Cambridge Codex of Juvenius. This proves that the Welsh had the sound which

we write *ll* as early as the 9th century, and could pronounce it between vowels, as we do, a point in which Welsh contrasts with Icelandic, which also has the sound, but only before *t*. My attention was called to its presence in that language by an Icelandic gentleman in Oxford asking me one day when such and such a college was "buillt." On inquiry I found that this is the sound which *l* always has before *t* in modern Icelandic: thus Icelandic *holt*, 'a small forest,' sounds to me like our *hollt*, 'a chink,' though it may be that the Icelanders do not force the breath so much to the right side of the mouth as we do in pronouncing our *ll*, which is sometimes called unilateral by phonologists—it does not, however, I may observe, deserve to be so called any more than our *l*, which we pronounce also on the right side of the mouth; and so too, I suspect, some Englishmen do. Look at these points as you may, the coincidence between Welsh and Icelandic is a striking proof that *t* has an affinity for *ll* which requires a physiological explanation.

Now we come to cases which do not involve mutes, but only *l*, *r*, *n*: let us take first *ll* and *lr*. The instances readiest to hand of *ll*, that is *l-l* yielding in Welsh the spirant surd which we write *ll*, occur in loan-words from Latin, such as *porchell* 'a young pig' from *porcellus*, *ystafell* 'an

apartment' from *stabellum*, *Ystwyll* 'Epiphany' from *stella*. Then there are other cases like Welsh *oll* 'all,' Irish *uile*, from a stem *olja*, and Welsh *pabell* 'a tent' from Lat. *papilio*, which in Welsh mouths became, no doubt, *papiljo*, that is to say, if that was not the first and only pronunciation which they heard from the Romans themselves. But how did *papiljo* become *pepyll*, whence our modern *pabell*? did it become *papillo* with *ll* for *lj*, or *papil'jo*, *papilljo*, with *l'*, *ll*, produced by provection? On the whole, I am inclined to take the latter view as the more probable. Of *lr* I have no certain instances: so the next combinations are *rr* and *rl*. As to the former, it makes in Mod. Welsh *rrh* and *rh*, as for instance where a noun is preceded by the definite article *yr*, O. Welsh *ir*, which is a proclitic. Take the following: *y rhan* 'the share' for *yr + ran*; *o'r rhan* 'from the share' for *o + yr + ran*; *i'r rhan* 'to the share' for *i + yr + ran*; and so in other cases, though *rhan* is regarded as the radical form, of which more anon. The protracted form of *rl* is written *rll*, as in *perllan* 'an orchard,' *oerllwm* 'cold and bare,' *garlleg* from the English *garlic*, and *jarll* from English *eorl* or *earl*. But the importance of this change appears mostly in the case of the definite article, as in *y llaw* 'the hand' for *yr + llaw*, *o'r llaw* 'from the hand' for *o + yr + llaw*, *a'r llaw* 'with the hand'

for *a + yr + llam*; and so on. Here it is to be remarked, as to the article prefixed to feminines, that the parallels to *y ddafad* 'the sheep' for *yr + dafad*, *y forwyn* 'the maid' for *yr + morwyn*, are to be sought not in *y llaw* 'the hand' for *yr + llaw*, and *y rhan* 'the share' for *yr + rhan*, but in an earlier stage *yr + law* and *yr + ran*, which passed into *y(r) llaw* and *y(r) rhan*. There still remain to be noticed *nl* and *nr*, the protected forms of which are written *nll* and *nrh* as in *gwinllan*, 'a vineyard' and *enllyn* anything eaten or drunk with bread, such as butter, cheese, milk, beer, or the like: so also after the preposition *yn*, as in *yn Llundain* 'in London' and *yn llaron* 'in full.' Whether and in what cases *l* has passed immediately into *ll* and not through an intermediate *lh*, which would be the parallel to *rh*, I am unable to decide. But both *ll* and *lh* would be protected forms of *l*, and we seem to detect a trace of the latter in O. Cornish in the later Oxford Glosses, which give us the equivalent of our *enllyn*, Ir. *anlon*, in the form *ehnlinn*, whereby is probably meant *enlhinn* or *e[nl]hinn*.

A word now as to *ll* and *rh* initial. *Ll* and *rh*, whether initial or not, are confined, as far as concerns the Celtic languages, to Welsh and Cornish—Edward Llwyd found traces of both in Cornish. But the fact that they are foreign to the Breton

dialects seems to show that they date after the mutual differentiation of Welsh and Breton. We have no Welsh manuscript authority for *rh* in the O. Welsh period, but *ll* is found written in the Black Book of Carmarthen of the 12th century as it is now. On the other hand, O. Cornish offers an instance in the later Oxford Glosses of a word beginning with *hl* identical probably with *lh*: it is *hloimol*, which is unfortunately as obscure as the Latin *glomerarium* which it was intended to explain, but the Mod. Welsh equivalent might be expected, if it existed, to begin with the syllable *llwyf*. But how, you will ask, is the provection of initial *l* into *lh*, *ll*, and of initial *r* into *rh*, to be accounted for? The first answer to suggest itself is, that it is the result of the influence of the other consonants, which as initials remain *c*, *t*, *p*, &c., while as medials or quasi-medials they are reduced to *g*, *d*, *b*, &c. Thus *c* initial and *g* medial would be matched by *ll* initial and *l* medial; and so with *rh* and *r*. Supposing that it could be shown, but it is hardly probable that it can, that the pairing of *ll* and *l*, *rh* and *r*, began some time posterior to that of *c* and *g*, *t* and *d*, and so on, this might be admitted as a passable explanation, though it would be open to the objection that the analogy of *c*, *g*, for instance, would require *l* and *r* as initials to remain unchanged, but to give way as

medials to some softer sounds, l_1 and r_1 ; and this applies both to Welsh and Sassarese, the agreement between which extends to r . Thus in Welsh we say *rhwyd* 'a net,' but *ei rwyd* 'his net,' and the Sassarese word for *net* is pronounced *rrezza*, while *the net* is, nevertheless, *la rezza*. But one could not, in the way here suggested, account for initial r always appearing in Ancient Greek as ρ , a coincidence with Welsh which can hardly be accidental; nor is this all, for in Ancient Greek, as in Welsh, two r 's coming together resulted in $\rho\rho$ as in *Πύρρος*, *Καλλιρρόη*, which the Romans transcribed *Pyrrhus*, *Calirrhoe*—the distinction between ρ and ρ is unknown in Mod. Greek. On the whole, then, nothing remains but that we should ascribe the distinction between the liquids as initials and non-initials to the same cause, to a certain extent, as that between the mutes. Thus from the facts of mutation already discussed, as, for instance, of c becoming g when non-initial and following a vowel, while initial c undergoes no such a change, it seems to follow that initial c , owing wholly or in part to its position, is pronounced with more force than when it happens to be preceded by a vowel. The same applies to other mutes, and herein Italian, as has already been mentioned, is at one with the Celtic languages. Moreover, the greater force of initial consonants has been established by direct

measurement in a way which must now be briefly described.

In an address to the Philological Society, Mr. Ellis gave a short account of an instrument called the logograph, invented by Mr. W. H. Barlow for recording, among other things, the comparative force of articulation in speech. Since then Mr. Barlow has very kindly answered various queries I have sent him, and favoured me with a copy of his own description of his invention to the Royal Society in a paper entitled: "On the Pneumatic Action which accompanies the Articulation of Sounds by the Human Voice, as exhibited by a Recording Instrument. By W. H. Barlow, F.R.S., V.P. Inst. C.E." (Proc. of the Roy. Soc., vol. xxii. pp. 277-286). "The instrument I have constructed," he says, "consists of a small speaking-trumpet about four inches long, having an ordinary mouthpiece connected to a tube half an inch in diameter, the other end of which is widened out so as to form an aperture of $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. This aperture is covered with a membrane of goldbeater's skin or thin gutta percha. A spring which carries the marker is made to press against the membrane with a slight initial pressure, to prevent as far as practicable the effects of jar and consequent vibratory action. A very light arm of aluminium is connected with

the spring and holds the marker; and a continuous strip of paper is made to pass under the marker in the same manner as that employed in telegraphy. The marker consists of a small fine sable brush placed in a light tube of glass one-tenth of an inch in diameter. The tube is rounded at the lower end, and pierced with a hole about one-twentieth of an inch in diameter. Through this hole the tip of the brush is made to project, and it is fed by colour put into the glass tube in which it is held. To provide for the escape of the air passing through the instrument, a small orifice is made in the side of the tube of the speaking-trumpet, so that the pressure exerted on the membrane and its spring is that due to the difference arising from the quantity of air forced into the trumpet, and that which can be delivered through the orifice in a given time." The line described by the marker when the instrument is used looks somewhat like the outline of a series of valleys and mountains represented in section: the valleys are the vowels, and the high pointed peaks the surd mutes *c*, *t*, *p*, while the other oral consonants are represented by lesser and less sudden elevations. Among the results of Mr. Barlow's experiments on the logograph may be mentioned the following:—

The pneumatic force of the vowels is comparatively small.

That of sonant consonants is greater, but falls considerably short of that of the surd mutes *c*, *t*, *p*.

That of an initial consonant is greater than that of the same consonant preceded by a vowel. This, in answer to one of my queries, has been ascertained by Mr. Barlow, who has very kindly sent* me the diagrams in respect of *c*, *t*, *p*, *g*, *d*, *b*. Thus it would seem that the greater force of an initial consonant depends on a physiological cause, and that it is its continued influence on the pronunciation of initial *l* and *r* which brought about their provection into *ll* and *rh* respectively.

Assuming, as I think we now may, this initial pressure to be a *vera causa*, we can apply it to explain another feature of Welsh phonology. I allude to our *gw* for *w* semi-vowel; for as the Italians derive their *guaina*, 'a scabbard,' from Latin *vagina*, and the French their *guerre* from a word the form of which recalls its English equivalent *war*, so Welsh regularly makes use of *gw*, formerly written *gu*, for Aryan *w*, which it is the custom of glottologists to treat as *v*. Thus Latin *vinum* becomes in Welsh *gwin*, 'wine,' and the same rule

* It was only lately that it occurred to me to ask Mr. Barlow to experiment on initial *l* and *r*, and as he was on the point of setting out for Philadelphia, and the instrument had been lodged in the Kensington Museum, I am unable to give the results of a direct experiment on *l* and *r*. However, I have no doubt that they follow suit with the other consonants mentioned.

is followed in native words such as *grynt*, Latin *ventus*, Eng. *wind*. In Old Welsh this was not confined to the beginning of a word—witness *pet-guar*, now *pedwar*, ‘four;’ but, as in the case of *pedwar*, the *g* disappeared later. However, initial *gw* is not in sole possession, as it is occasionally supplanted by *chw*. Thus *chwerthin*, ‘to laugh,’ and *chwareu*, ‘to play,’ have, as far as concerns Mod. Welsh, driven *gwerthin* and *gwareu* out of the field; while *chwannen*, ‘a flea,’ is the only form, *gwannen* being altogether unknown, though the word is probably of the same origin as the German *wanze*, ‘a bug.’ To these may be added a remarkable instance in the case of a Latin loan-word: *vesica* becomes in Welsh either *chrysigen* or *grysigen*, ‘a bladder, a blister.’ Looking at these facts—initial *gw*, initial *chw*, and *w* for medial *gw*—the common combination from which we must set out, can hardly but be assumed to have been *ghw*, with *gh* pronounced as a very soft spirant like the *g* one sometimes hears in German *sagen*, ‘to say.’ In Old Welsh this combination would of course be written *gu*; but where it occurred in the body of a word, the guttural would eventually drop out of the pronunciation, whereas, occurring initially, it would come under the pneumatic pressure which has just been supposed to have induced the provection of *l* and *r* into *ll* and *rh*; and the

result would be the like provection of *gh* into *ch*. That of *gh* into *g* differs from them in its resulting in a mute and not a spirant, but it may be compared with the Sassarese substitution of a strong *b* for an initial *v* as in *bozi*, Ital. *voce*, while as a quasi-medial in *la bozi*, 'the voice,' the labial has the weaker pronunciation of a kind of *v* or Spanish *b*. As for the transition from *w* to *ghw*, it can hardly have taken place all at once: it happened, probably, through the intermediate stage of 'w, where the soft palate was just slightly moved by the air in its passage from the larynx into the mouth during the pronunciation of the *w*. But why the soft palate should have been drawn in at all is another of those questions which I must leave to the student of the physiology of sounds. It is to be noticed that the guttural preceding the semi-vowel dates from the 7th or the 8th century, as no trace of it is to be found on our early inscribed stones, which show only *V*, or, in Ogam, a character which is to be read *w*.

In the case of *ll* and *rh*, the difference between Welsh and Irish was owing to a change on the part of Welsh only: in the present instance the gulf has been widened by changes on both Welsh and Irish ground. The former have just been described, and the latter consist in dropping the semi-vowel, as a rule, where we have reduced O.

Welsh *gw* into *w*, while, as an initial, it was some time or other modified from *w* to *v*, which was subsequently proved into *f*, for seemingly the same reason that *gh*, *l*, and *r* initial became in Welsh *ch*, *ll*, and *rh* respectively. All this happened before the date of the earliest Irish manuscripts of the 8th century, but no trace of it is known on the Ogam-inscribed stones of Ireland: on them the semi-vowel is represented by the same character which I would read *w* on British monuments. The time may be still more narrowly defined: the change had not taken place before the middle of the 5th century, as seems to be indicated by the fact, that an Irish saint, supposed to have died about 460, bore a name which in Ireland afterwards became *Fingar*, and in Cornwall, where he spent a part of his life, *Gwinear*, as it is now written. This implies that in his time his name did not commence with an *f*, but with nearly the same initial in Ireland and Cornwall, namely *w* or *v*. Moreover, about the beginning of the 6th century the semi-vowel was still pronounced in Irish where it has since been elided. Thus in one of the lives of the Irish saint *Monenna* or *Modvenna*, a contemporary of St. Patrick, she is spoken of as a *virgo de Convalleorum populo*, another gives the last words as *Conalleorum populo*, and a third makes her a native of *terra Conallea*, which must, I suppose, be

Tyrconnell. Now *Conall* is one of those vocables which have dropped the semi-vowel, which is exceptionally retained in the *Convalleorum* alluded to: the Welsh is *Cynwal*, O. Welsh *Congual*, and still earlier *CYNOVALI* on an inscribed stone in Cornwall. It was thought right to dwell on Welsh *gw* = Irish *f* at some length, not only on account of their phonological interest, but because they are not infrequently relied upon as evidence of a very profound and primeval difference of language between the Irish and the Welsh.

Now that we have fairly come to the end of our task—at least in outline—as far as regards the consonants, than which we have no reason to suspect the vowels of being less interesting, though, maybe, the laws they obey are more subtle, we may be allowed to indulge in a few remarks of a more general nature. Enough has probably been said to convince you that, in spite of our having reserved to the last the fag-ends of the subject, Welsh phonology is far from devoid of interest. The regularity which pervades it leaves but little to be desired, and it falls, comparatively speaking, not so very far short of the requirements of an exact science. Some, however, have no patience with a discussion which turns on consonants and vowels, and nothing short of etymologies bearing directly on ethnological questions or the origin of language

can hope to meet with their approval. This need not surprise any one, for, as a rule, few people feel interested in the details of a scientific inquiry, and duly realise the fact, that what they regard as food only fit for the shrunken mind of a specialist must necessarily precede those gushing results they thirst after. In the case before us, we are only too familiar with the worthlessness of the fruits of a method which ignores the phonological laws of the language with which it pretends to deal, or fails to do justice to their historical import; and it is by his attitude with respect to these laws that one can generally tell a dilettante from a *bona fide* student of the Celtic languages. The former, you hardly need be told, never discerns a difficulty; for to him a letter more or less makes no difference, as his notion of euphony is so Protean that it is equal to any emergency; but the latter frequently stumbles or goes astray, and has to retrace his steps; and altogether his progress can be but slow: so much so, in fact, that some of the leading glottologists of our day think it on the whole impossible to attain to the same state of knowledge respecting the history and etymology of Celtic words as that arrived at in the case of the other Aryan tongues. That it is harder is certain, but that it is impossible I am inclined to doubt. At any rate, so far progress is being made; nor is there

anything which may be regarded as an indication that we have nearly come to the end of our tether. For example, one of the tasks—and only one out of several—which the student of an Aryan language proposes to himself is to discover, as far as that is practicable, the origin of every word in its vocabulary, and to show to what recognised group of words it belongs, or, in other words, from what root it is derived and how. In some of the languages kindred to our own this work has already been carried very far, and the number of the vocables in them of obscure origin has been materially reduced; but in the Celtic languages this search, being attended with greater difficulties, is not so far advanced; but it is going on and likely to go on, as you will see on perusing the *Revue Celtique* or Kuhn's *Beitraege*, where you will find, among others, some of the most stubborn words of our vernacular forced, one after another, to surrender the secrets of their pedigree.

But whence, it will be asked, does this greater difficulty attending the study of the Celtic languages, and of Welsh in particular, proceed? Mainly from two causes—the great dearth of specimens of them in their earlier stages, and the large scale on which phonetic decay has taken place in them. For, to pass by the former for the present, it is to be remembered that the phonetic changes

which have been engaging our attention are but the footprints of phonetic decay, and that the phonological laws which have just been discussed form but the map of its encroachments and a plan, as it were, of its line of attack. With these before our eyes, we are, to a certain extent, enabled to infer and picture to ourselves the positions, so to say, and the array in which the forces of our language were at one time drawn up. So, when you hear it said, as you frequently may, that Welsh or Irish is the key to I know not how many other languages, do not believe a word of it: the reverse would be nearer the truth. We want concentrated upon the former all the light that can possibly be derived from the other Aryan tongues; that is to say, if we are to continue to decipher their weather-worn history.

LECTURE III.

" La dissonanza tra lingua e lingua, se pur non sia minore, riesce di certo, in generale, men sensibile rispetto alle vocali che non rispetto alle consonanti ; ma appunto per questo, torna più logico, in una trattazione come la nostra, che il ragguaglio delle consonanti sia mandato innanzi a quello delle vocali."—G. I. ASCOLI.

At first it was not my intention to notice the vowels, but it has since occurred to me, that if they were to be passed over in silence, you might suppose that I endorse the first part of Voltaire's definition of etymology as a science in which the vowels are of no consequence and the consonants of extremely little. But there is another reason why they should be noticed here, and that is the fact that without taking them into account the history of the consonants cannot be thoroughly understood. Before, however, proceeding to any details it will be necessary roughly to indicate what vowels in Modern Welsh represent the vowels of the Aryan parent-speech respectively. It is to be observed, that, as a result of the researches of Professor Curtius of Leipsic, and others, it is now generally accepted as a fact that the Western Aryans not only retained the vowel *a* in some

words, but also changed it into *e* in others ; but it would make no difference, so far as our present subject is concerned, if it should some day be made out that the parent-speech had two or more kinds of *a*^x (as is the case, say, in English), which the Eastern Aryans confounded in course of time, and reduced to one, while their brethren in the West never completely effaced the distinction between them. It further appears probable that, anterior to the separate existence of Irish and Welsh, *a* had also been modified in not a few words into *o* in the common Celtic from which these languages have branched off. Thus while Sanskrit harps on the same string of *a*, the Celtic and other Aryan languages of Europe have no less than three vowels at their disposal, namely, *a*, *e*, *o* : witness our *tad* 'father,' *deg* 'ten,' and *pōb-i* 'to bake,' which are in Sanskrit respectively *tata*, *daṇan*, and *pac*, all with *a*. So far, then, as concerns Welsh or Irish, we may treat the following vowel-sounds as original : *a*, *ā*, *e*, *ē* (?), *i*, *ī* (?), *o*, *u*, *ū* (?), *āi*, *āu*. Our task is now briefly to point out the most common and direct continuators of each of them in our language.

- A. The *ā* of the Aryan parent-speech is retained in the following words and many more which might be enumerated :—

aden, 'a wing,' *adar*, 'birds,' from PAT, whence also
Skr. *pat*, 'to fly,' Gr. πτερόν, Eng. *feather*.

afal, 'an apple,' Lith. *obolýs*, O. Bulg. *jablŭko*,
Eng. *apple*.

am, 'about, around,' O. Ir. *imb*-, *imm*, Gr. ἀμφί,
Lat. *amb*- in *ambages*, Ger. *um*.

an-, as in *annoeth*, 'unwise,' *anamserol*, 'untimely,'
Ir. *an*-, Skr. *an*-, Gr. ἀν-, Lat. *in*-, Eng. *un*-.

ar, 'ploughland,' *arddu*, 'to plough,' *aradr*, 'a
plough,' Ir. *arathar*, 'a plough,' Gr. ἀρόω, 'I
plough,' Lat. *aro*, same, *arātrum*, 'a plough,'
Goth. *arjan*, 'to plough,' Eng. *to ear*, *earth*.

all-, in *alltud*, 'one of another nation,' Ir. *aile*, Gr.
ἄλλος, Lat. *alius*, Eng. *else*.

arch, 'a bidding, a request,' from PARK, whence also
Latin *precor*, 'I pray,' Ger. *frage*, 'a ques-
tion : ' another form of the same root seems
to be PARSEK, whence Skr. *prach*, 'to demand,
to ask,' Lat. *posco* (= *porsco*), Ger. *forschen*,
'to inquire, to investigate.'

cad, O. Welsh *cat*, 'battle, war,' whence Catteyrn,
'battle-king,' Early Welsh Catotigirni; Ir.
cath, Gaulish *catu* in Caturiges, Catuslogi;
Old / ~~Early~~ Eng. *heatho*-, 'war, battle.'

caled, 'hard,' Zend *çareta*, 'cold,' Eng. *cold*,
which seem to show that the common base
was *scareta*, and that the Celts reasoned from
cold to solidity.

can, 'a song,' *canu*, 'to sing, to crow,' Ger. *hahn*,
'a cock.'

had, 'seed,' Lat. *satus*.

haf, 'summer,' Skr. *samā*, 'year,' Zend *hama*,
'summer.'

halen, 'salt,' *hallt*, 'salty, salted,' Ir. *salann*,
'salt,' Gr. ἅλς, Lat. *sal*, Eng. *salt*.

pa, 'what,' Ir. *ca*, Skr. *kas*, 'who,' Lat. *quo-*, in
quod, Goth. *hvas*, Eng. *who*.

pas, 'the whooping-cough,' Skr. *kās*, 'to cough,' O.
Eng. *hwoſtan*, 'to *hoſt*, to cough,' Ger. *husten*.

tarn, 'a bull,' Ir. *tarbh*, Gaulish *tarvos*, Zend.
thaurva (= *tharva*), 'violent, strong, hard,'
Lat. *torvus*: it is not certain that these words
are connected, but in any case *tarn* cannot be
identified with the Latin *taurus*.

E. The vowel *ē* for Aryan *ǎ* occurs in Welsh, in
common with other European languages, in a
good many words, of which the following are
a few:—

ad-fer, 'to restore,' from the same origin as Gr.
φέρω, Lat. *fero*: Skr. *bhar*, 'to bear.'

cred, 'belief,' Ir. *creitem*, Lat. *credo*: Skr. *çraddhā*,
'trusting, faithful.'

chwech, 'six,' Ir. *sé*, Gr. ἕξ, Lat. *sex*: Skr. *shash*.

deg, 'ten,' Gr. δέκα, Lat. *decem*, Goth. *taihun*, Eng..
ten: Skr. *daśan*.

deheu, 'right, south,' O. Ir. *dess*, Gr. δεξιός, Lat. *dexter* : Skr. *dakshina*.

ebol, 'a colt,' O. Ir. *ech*, 'a horse,' Lat. *equus*, O. Eng. *eoh* : Skr. *açva*.

gen, 'the chin,' Gr. γένυς, Lat. *gena*, Goth. *kinnus*, Eng. *chin* : Skr. *hanus*.

heb, 'besides, without,' O. Ir. *sech*, Lat. *secus*.

heb, 'quoth,' Gr. ἔσπετε (theme σεν), Lat. *in-sece*, Lith. *sakaú*, 'I say,' Ger. *sagen*, Eng. *say*.

hen, 'old,' O. Ir. *sen*, Gr. ἔνη (καὶ νέα), Lat. *senex* : Skr. *sana*.

mel, 'honey,' Ir. *mil*, Gr. μέλι, Lat. *mel*, Goth. *milith*.

mellt, 'lightenings,' O. Prussian, *mealde*, 'a lightning,' O. Bulg. *mlŭnij*.

melyn, 'yellow, tawny,' Gr. μέλας, gen. μέλανος, 'black, dark, blue,' Lith. *mėlynas*, 'blue : ' Skr. *malina*, 'dark, black.'

merch, 'a girl, a daughter,' Lith. *mergà*, 'a girl.'

nef, 'sky, heaven,' O. Ir. *nem*, Gr. νέφος, Lat. *nebula*, O. Bulg. *nebo*, 'heaven.'

ser, 'stars,' Gr. ἀστήρ, Lat. *stella*, Eng. *star* : Skr. *staras*, 'stars.'

serch, 'love, affection,' Ir. *searc*, Gr. στέργω, 'I love,' στοργή, 'love or natural affection.'

I. Aryan *ī* is represented in O. Welsh by *i*, written *y* in Mod. Welsh, and *i* or *y* indiffe-

rently in the intervening period. But in most cases the *y* of Mod. Welsh has taken the place of other vowels, while the instances where it is the representative of an *i* of Aryan or even European standing are comparatively few. The following may be mentioned:—

dyn, 'a day,' *he-ddyn*, 'to-day,' Gr. *ἔνδιος* (= *ενδιος*), 'at midday,' Lat. *diu*, *diurnus* (= *dius-nus*): Skr. *diva*, 'heaven, day.'

hysp, fem. *hesp*, 'dry, not giving milk,' Gr. *ἰσχνός*, 'dry,' Lat. *siccus*, Zend *hiskū*, 'dry;' the Welsh, the Greek, and the Zend forms seem to be the results of reduplication—*si-siqv-* or *si-sik-*.

mysc, as in *yn mysc*, 'in the midst of,' Gr. *μίγνυμι*, *μίσγω*, Lat. *misceo*, Eng. *mix*, Skr. *miksh*.

nyfio, 'to snow,' from a root SNIGHV, whence also Gr. *νίφει*, Lat. *ninguit*, *ningit*, or *nivit*, 'it snows,' Eng. *snow*: Zend *çnizh*.

py, 'what, which' (now superseded by *pa*), Gr. *τίς, τί*, Lat. *quis*, *quid*, Oscan *pid*: Skr. *kim*.

yd, 'corn,' O. Ir. *ith*, gen. *etho*, Lith. *pētus*, 'mid-day, mid-day meal:' Skr. *pitū*, 'food, sustenance.'

- O. In a good many instances *ð* has taken the place of *ǣ*, at a date probably falling within the limits of the history of the Welsh language, but in others it seems to be, as already

suggested, of older standing, as may be gathered from its appearance in the corresponding forms in other languages nearly related to Welsh, as in the following instances:—

coll, 'hazel,' O. Ir. *coldde*, 'columnus,' Lat. *corulus* (= *cosulus*), Eng. *hazel*.

dof, 'tame,' Lat. *domare*, 'to tame,' Eng. *tame*.

moch, 'soon, quick,' Ir. *moch*, Lat. *mox*: Skr. *makshu*.

noeth, 'naked,' Ir. *nocht*, Lat. *nūdus* (= *no(g)vidus*), Goth. *naqvaths*, Eng. *naked*.

nos, 'night,' *henoeth*, 'to-night,' *trannoeth*, 'over-night, the day after,' literally *trans noctem*, Mod. Ir. *anocht*, 'to-night,' Gr. *νύξ*, gen. *νυκτός*, Lat. *nox*, gen. *noctis*, Lith. *naktis*, Goth. *nahts*, Eng. *night*: Vedic Skr. *nakti*.

o (= *op*), as in *o thry efe*, 'if he turn,' Lat. *nec-opinus*, *in-opinus*, *opinio*, O. Norse, *ef*, *if*, 'doubt,' Ger. *ob*, Eng. *if*.

og or *oged*, 'a harrow,' Lat. *occa*, Lith. *akėczos*, *ekėczos*, O. H. Ger. *egida*, Mod. Ger. *egge*.

pobi, 'to bake,' Gr. *πέσσω*, future *πέψω*, Lat. *coquo*: Skr. *pac*.

nyth (for *oith* = *oct*), 'eight,' Ir. *ocht*, Gr. *ὀκτώ*, Lat. *octo*, Eng. *eight*: Skr. *ashtan*.

U. Aryan *ǵ* is represented in O. Welsh by *u*, written in Mod. Welsh *w*: however, the in-

stances where the original *u* may perhaps not have been modified are comparatively few, such as the following:—

cwn, 'dogs,' Ir. *con*, Gr. *κύες*, Lat. *canes*, Eng. *hounds*, Skr. *çvânas*, *çunas*.

drwg, 'bad,' Ir. *droch*-, Ger. *trug*, 'deception,' *betrügen*, 'to deceive,' Skr. *druh*, 'to injure, to harm,' Zend *druj*, 'to lie.'

dnfn, 'deep,' O. Ir. *domnu*, 'depth,' Lith. *dūbus*, 'deep, hollow,' O. Bulg. *dūno* (= *dubno*), 'ground' (compare Ir. *domhan*, 'the world'), Goth. *diups*, 'deep,' O. Eng. *deóp*, Mod. Eng. *deep*.

jud, in the O. Welsh names *Judgual*, *Margetjud*, now *Idwal* and *Meredudd*, comes from the root YUDH, whence also Ir. *iodhnach*, 'armed,' Gr. *ἰσμίην*, 'a battle,' Skr. *yudh*, 'to fight.'

rhwd, 'rust,' Lat. *russus*, Ger. *rosten*, 'to rust,' Eng. *rust*, from the root RUDH, whence Welsh *rhudd*, 'red,' and its congeners.

Á. Aryan *á* seems to have in Early Welsh acquired a guttural sound, which passed into *ô*, yielding in Mod. Welsh *o* and *aw*, the latter being used in monosyllables, and the former in most other words as Welsh is now pronounced; the instances are numerous—take the following:—

brad, 'a brother,' pl. *brodyr*, Ir. *bráthair*, Lat. *fráter*, Eng. *brother*, Skr. *bhrátar*.
chwiorydd, 'sisters' (sing. *chwaer*), Lat. *sorôres*, Eng. *sisters*, Skr. *svasâras*.
dawn, 'a gift in the sense of talent or genius,' Ir. *dán*, Lat. *dónum*, O. Bulg. *danĭ*.
llawn, 'full,' Ir. *lán*, Lat. *plénus*, Skr. *prāṇa*.
llawr, 'floor,' Ir. *lár*, Eng. *floor*.
modryb, 'an aunt,' from the word for mother, which is lost in Welsh, but is in Irish *máthair*, Gr. *μήτηρ*, Doric *μάτηρ*, Lat. *māter*, Eng. *mother*, Skr. *mātar*.

Ê, î. It is not supposed that the parent-speech had *ê*, and it is doubtful whether it had *î*: even supposing that it had the latter, I have failed to trace a single instance down to Welsh. The nearest approach to this would be the case of Welsh *bym*, 'quick, living,' O. Ir. *béo*, *biu*, and Welsh *bym*, 'a life or lifetime,' O. Ir. *biu*, in Fiacc's Hymn (Stokes' *Goidelica*, p. 128), Greek *βίος*; but Latin *vīvus*, Sanskrit *jīva*, and their cognates can hardly be said to prove beyond doubt that the *i* was originally long. It is, however, probable that *ê* had replaced *â* in a few Celtic words, or even passed into *î*, before the separate history of Welsh or Irish can be said to have begun. The

instances alluded to are those where Welsh and Irish have *i* answering to Latin *e*, as follows:—
gwir, 'true,' Ir. *fir*, Lat. *vérus*, Goth. *vêrjan* (in *tuzvêrjan*), 'to believe,' Ger. *wahr*, 'true.'
hir, 'long,' Ir. *sir*, Lat. *sérus*, 'late,' Goth. *seithus*, 'late.'
rhi, 'a king,' O. Ir. *rí*, gen. *rig*, Gaulish *Dumno-*
rix, *Dubno-reix*, *Dubno-rex*, *Catu-ríges*, Lat.
rex, gen. *régis*, Goth. *reiks*, Skr. *rājan*.
tir, 'land,' Ir. *tír*, Lat. *terra*, 'the earth.'

Ū. Nearly the same remark applies to *ú* as to *i*.

Ai. From the different representatives of *āi* in the various Aryan languages it has been inferred that the primitive Aryans had two kinds of this diphthong, which glottologists would distinguish as *ai* and *āi*: the case is, however, not quite so clear as it looks in some books. Now, at a certain stage in the history of Welsh, *ai* had become *oi*, which has since been differentiated by causes to be noticed later into *oe* and *my* in Mod. Welsh. The ordinary Irish representatives are *ia* and *é*. The following words are instances in point:—
bloesc, 'imperfect or indistinct in one's pronunciation,' Skr. *mléccha*, 'a foreigner, a barbarian:' Sanskrit *ch* = *sk*.

coed, 'wood, trees,' Ir. *ciad-cholum*, 'a wood-pigeon,' Lat. *bu-cétum*, 'a pasture for cattle,' Goth. *haithi*, 'a heath, field,' *haithivisks*, 'wild,' Eng. *heath*, *heathen*.

coel, 'angury, superstition, belief,' Ir. *cél*, Goth. *hails*, 'whole, uninjured,' *hailjan*, 'to cure,' Eng. *heal*, *health*.

dryf-, in *dryfol* (also *drymol*), 'divine,' O. Ir. *dia*, gen. *dei*, 'God,' Lat. *divus*, Skr. *dēva*, 'god-like, divine, a god.'

hwy (= *sa-i*), *hwynt*, 'they, them,' Ir. *iad*, Gr. *oi*, *ai*. *pmv*, 'who,' Ir. *cia*, *cé*, Lat. *quei*, *quæ* (more commonly *qui*, *quæ*), Umbr. *poi*, 'who'—the same particle *i* appears for instance in the Lat. *hæc* (= *ha-i-œ*), and Gr. *οὔτοι*.

Ái. Aryan *ái* makes *u* in Welsh, now pronounced nearly like the *ü* of the Germans. It was derived from *ái* by a process similar to that whereby *oi* assumed the sound of *u* in Modern Greek, before both became identical with *i* in pronunciation. The Old Irish equivalent was *oi* or *oe*, now written *ao* (*aoi*), and pronounced in some parts like the *uee* of *queen* according to O'Donovan: as pronounced in Galway, it seems to me to lie between our Welsh *û* and *i*. The following instances may here be mentioned:—

cul, 'narrow,' Ir. *caol*.

cynud, 'fuel,' O. Bulg. *gnētiti*, 'to kindle,' O. Prussian, *knaistis*, 'a firebrand,' O. H. Ger. *gneisto*, 'a spark.'

hud, 'a charm, a spell,' Lith. *saitas*, 'sorcery,' O. Norse *seidhr*, 'a kind of sorcery or magic,' Ger. *seid*.

hufen, 'cream,' O. H. Ger. *seim*, Mod. H. Ger. *honig-seim*, 'run-honey,' Eng. *seam*, 'lard,' whence our *saim*, 'grease,' has been borrowed.

tu (for *tuf*), 'side,' Ir. *taobh*.

ud-, in *anudon*, 'a false oath, perjury,' O. Ir. *oeth*, Goth. *aiths*, Ger. *eid*, Eng. *oath*.

un, 'one,' O. Ir. *oin*, Mod. Ir. *aon*, Lat. *oinos* (later *ūnus*), Goth. *ains*, O. Eng. *án*, Mod. Eng. *one*, *atone*, *only*, *an*—the pronunciation of *one* as *run* was originally that of a particular dialect like *nuts* for *oats*, and *an* is the Old Eng. *án* (that is *ān*) shortened owing to the proclitic pronunciation of the numeral when used as an indefinite article: the Germans of late sometimes distinguish *an* and *one* as *ein* and *éin* respectively..

Au. Even supposing that the primitive Aryans distinguished two kinds of *au*, which is exceedingly doubtful, it seems to be quite hopeless to separate their respective repre-

sentatives in the modern languages of the Celts. In Welsh they are *u* and *uw* (pronounced like German *ü* followed by German *u*); the latter is used only in a few words, mostly before *ch*; otherwise *û* and *uw* take their places like *o* and *aw*. The Irish equivalents are *úa* and *ó*. Take the following instances:—

clun, 'a knee,' Lat. *clūnis*, Lith. *szlaunis*, Skr. *çroni*.

rhudd, 'red,' Ir. *ruadh*, Lat. *rūfus*, Goth. *rauds*, Ger. *roth*, Eng. *red*.

tud, 'nation, country,' Breton *tud*, 'men, a people,' Ir. *tuath*, 'a people, a nation,' Gaulish *toutius*, Oscan *touto*, Goth. *thiuda*, Ger. *Deutsch*, 'Dutch or German.'

bunch, 'a cow,' pl. *buchod*, Cornish *biuch*, Breton *bioc'h*, all with a final *s* irregularly represented by *ch*,^x but *bu* and *bun* also occur in Welsh, Ir. *bó*, Gr. *βοῦς*, Lat. *bós*, Eng. *cow*, Skr. nom. *gaus*, gen. *gós*.

^x*Dun*, 'God,' also *Dunch* with *ch* (as in *bunch*), and only vulgarly used in *Dunch anwyl*! which corresponds to the German exclamation *Du lieber Gott*! Gr. *Zeús*, voc. *Zeû*, Lat. *Jou-piter*, Skr. nom. *dyaús*, voc. *dyaũs*, 'sky, heaven,' *Dyaushpitar*, 'Heaven-father.'

urwd, 'porridge,' O. Cornish *iot*, Breton *iot*, O.

Ir. *íth*, Lat. *jūs*, 'broth,' Lettish *jāut*, 'to mix meal up in water,' Skr. *yūs*, *yūsha*, 'pea-soup,' *ā-yavana*, 'a pot-ladle or some similar utensil.'

uchel, 'high,' *uwch*, 'higher,' *uchaf*, 'highest,' Ir. *uasal*, 'high, noble,' Gaulish *uxel-*, in Uxela, Uxellodunum; and probably *ovξαμα* in Ptolemy's *Ovξαμα Βαρκα* is identical with our *uchaf*, so that we might call the place 'Upper Barca:' the root would seem to have been *auks* (as in Gr. *αὐξάνω*) from *aug*, as in Lat. *augeo*, 'I increase,' *auctus*, 'enlarged, increased, great, abundant,' O. Prussian *auktai-*, 'high,' Lith. *auksztas*, 'high.'

Cnurch, *cunch*, *llunch*, *rhurch*, are other Welsh words with *uw*, which is replaced by *u* when a syllable is added, but their origin is obscure.

The foregoing are a few points which it was thought necessary to mention in the vowel system of Welsh: now some of the principal changes and modifications which have obtained in it must be considered somewhat more at leisure. Some of them, such as those involved in the history of *aw*, *wy*, *uw*, have already been touched upon. For it is impossible, language being in a constant state of flux and change, to discuss its organism altogether apart from its pathology, so to say, however

neat such a plan may look in theory. To begin with the evolution of *aw* from *a*, this seems to mean that *a* passed in the course of time into a sound identical, or nearly identical, with the English vowel in *ball* and *dram*, and that, where it was not eventually shortened, yielding *o*, it was diphthongised into *au*, which we now write *aw*. As to the date of the transition, no instance of *au* occurs in the earlier class of Welsh inscriptions, so it may be presumed that it did not take place before the 7th century. For a parallel to it we need not go further than English: take, for instance, the Old English word *stán*, that is *stān*, which is now written *stone*, and pronounced *storn* with a long *o* followed by a more or less perceptible *n*, or with some modification of that diphthong, seldom if ever with a long *o* pure and simple. To this might be added plenty more, such as *bone*, *home*, *rope*, for the O. English *bán*, *hám*, *ráp*, respectively. But for a perfect parallel consult the Swabian pronunciation of German—witness *Schraub* and *aubend* for *Schwab* and *abend*: nor is the change unknown in Sanskrit.

With respect to *oe* and *wy*, it is not quite certain what the Kymric starting-point should be assumed to have been. But reasoning backwards from the loan-words which have *wy* in Mod. Welsh for Latin *é*, one is led to the conclusion that for some time after the Roman occupation

the antecedent of *ny* in native words must have also been *é*, or some such a diphthong as *éi*, which could be taken for *é*. Either *é* or *éi* would here do, but the advantage of simplicity is on the side of the former when one comes to assign the common Goidelo-Kymric prototype of Welsh *ny*, *oe*, on the one hand, and Irish *é*, *ia*, on the other. So among the steps whereby *é* yielded *oi*, whence *ny* and *oe* were differentiated, we should have to reckon *éi*, *ei*, *ai*, which would make the series *é*, *éi*, *ai*, *oi*. The earlier of these steps are fairly exemplified in the ordinary English pronunciation of such words as *name*, *paper*, as *né'm*, *pé'per*, *néim*, *péiper*, or even *náim*, *páiper*, with a long *e* or *a* followed by a more or less marked *i*, which so frequently mars the English pronunciation of French words containing a long *e*, as the *n* sound in *stone* does in that of French words involving long *o*. The later steps in the series are well known in Irish, where such instances as *croinn* for *crainn*, genitive of *crann*, 'a tree,' *boill* for *baill*, 'members,' and *toibre*, *taibre*, 'give,' frequently occur, and illustrate a tendency which is perpetuated in the Anglo-Irish pronunciation, which makes the English words *fine*, *I*, *line*, into *foine*, *oi*, *loin*, approximately.

In the case of *u* and *um*, it is probable that the Aryan *āu* which they represent had become a

Goidelo-Kymric *ô* (or *ôu*), whence the Irish derived their *ó*, *úa*, while the Welsh changed it into a broad *û*, and later into the narrow *u* of Mod. Welsh. For this is the ordinary representative of both Latin *ô* and *û*, as in *llafur*, 'labour,' from Latin *labôr-is*, *ffunen*, 'a line, a cord,' from *fûnis*, and *addurn*, 'an ornament,' from *adôrn-o*. In the few native words already noticed this *û* was diphthongised into *um*, and that, it would seem, at no recent date, as we appear to detect traces of it in the Breton *bioc'h*, 'a cow,' and the Cornish *iot*, 'porridge,' where the Welsh is *burch* and *ynd*.

Before leaving these points, a word may not be out of place as to the Irish *ia* and *úa*, or *ia* and *ua*, as they are more commonly written: the *i* and *u* are long, and followed by only a very slight touch of *a*. They remind one somewhat of the Lithuanian diphthongs *ie* and *uo*, also written *ẽ* and *û*. But whether the way they were arrived at was the same, or nearly the same, is not evident: in the case of the Irish ones the steps probably were *ê*, *êa*, *ia*, and *ô*, *ôa*, *úa*, respectively. No certain traces of either diphthong are known in the early Ogmic inscriptions of Ireland, and they date, probably, after the 6th century.

Here it may be asked why such cases of vowel modification, which I have ventured to call, in the absence of a better word, diphthongisation, should

take place in Welsh, Irish, English, or any other language. If you consult musicians on the matter, they will tell you that a long and sustained note has a tendency to lose its quality and change its pitch: in other words, "there is naturally a great difficulty in prolonging a sound at the same pitch and with the same quality of tone," as Mr Ellis observes in the fourth volume of his work on *Early English Pronunciation*, p. 1273. He does not dismiss the question without pointing clearly to the source of the difficulty: "To retain the vowel quality for a sensible time requires an unnatural fixity of muscle, and consequently relaxations constantly occur, which alter the vowel quality." Thus it turns out to be simply a question of muscle, and the difficulty of prolonging a vowel sound unmodified is exactly of the same kind as that which one would soon feel in trying to hold one's hand up steadily for a length of time, a method of torture which was well known to Welsh schoolmasters when I was a boy.

The phonetic change here in question has justly been called one of the great alterative forces in language; the latter, however, holds itself free to have recourse also to the kind of change exemplified in the reduction of diphthongs into single vowels. Of this instances have already been alluded to, as where Aryan *āi* and *āu* were

supposed to have been reduced in the Goidelo-Kymric period to *ē* and *ō*, also Aryan *āi* into *u*, whereby the continuators of Aryan *āi* and *āu* assumed the same form. But the common Goidelo-Kymric antecedent of the Welsh *u* to which O. Irish *oi* corresponds, may, as far as we now can see, be presumed to have been *ai* or *oi*. As a parallel to the reduction of Welsh *oi* into *u* may be mentioned the case of Greek *oi*, which had in the 11th century or earlier got to be sounded like *υ*—hence the habit of calling the latter *ῥ* *ψιλόν*, just as *ε* was called *ῥ* *ψιλόν* when *ai* had acquired its value—before its sound (*υ* = *oi*) was modified into that of *ι* or *η*, as in the Greek of the present day. I might dwell on the almost identical treatment of O. Irish *oi* in Mod. Irish, where the digraph *ao* has the sound of Welsh *ī*, or one between that and Welsh *ū*. The English and Latin parallels are less striking; but if you trace O. Latin *oinos* to the more common forms *ūnus*, *ūna*, *ūnum*, and down into the French *un une*, the analogy between the history of the latter and that of the Welsh *un* is in every respect very close. The same kind of change is not unknown in the dialects of Mod. Welsh: for instance, the pronunciation prevalent in many, if not most, parts of S. Wales of such words as *doe*, ‘yesterday,’ *oes*, ‘is,’ *traed*, ‘feet,’ *llaeth*, ‘milk,’ is *dō*, *ōs*,

trâd, llâth: so the *e* and *y* brought together by the elision of a *g* form a modern diphthong liable to be simplified as in *tyrnas* or *ternas* for *teyrnas*, 'a kingdom,' and in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire such plurals as *torfeydd*, 'multitudes,' and *porfeydd*, 'pastures,' become *torfŷdd* and *porfŷdd*: so *Lleyn*, the western third of the latter county, is now invariably called *Llŷn*.✕

All the foregoing cases of reduction of diphthongs fall under the head of assimilation, which has been noticed more than once on a former occasion. Now there are other kinds of assimilation which play a part in the vowel economy of Welsh, but before they can be discussed to advantage the nature of vowels must be studied more closely than has hitherto been done here. Now the vowels belong to the category of musical sounds, and those who wish to study them as such could not do better than begin by carefully reading the first part of Professor Helmholtz's great work on *The Sensations of Tone as a Physiological Basis for the Theory of Music*, lately translated into English by Mr. A. J. Ellis: also part H. 11. of his Appendix xix. to Helmholtz's text, and Chapter xi. of the fourth volume of his own work already alluded to, *On Early English Pronunciation*, especially pp. 1272-1281. I find that the best thing I can do is to copy here briefly their

views, as far as they serve to throw light on Welsh phonology.

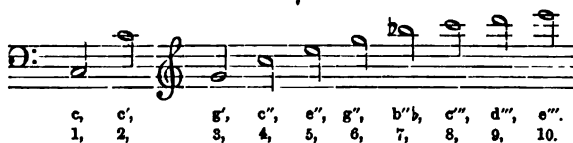
Sounds are distinguished into noises and musical tones, by which are not meant the intervals of tones and semitones. The difference between the former is that the sensation of a musical tone is due to a rapid periodic motion of the sonorous body, and the sensation of a noise to non-periodic motions. The vowels, though they are of the former description, may, owing to the friction of the breath against the parts of the mouth, contain an admixture of noise, which it is the business of the singer to eliminate. Musical tones in their turn are distinguished by their force or loudness, by their pitch or relative height, and by their quality. Their force or loudness depends on the extent or amplitude of the oscillations of the particles of the vibrating body; that is, the longer the distances described by the said particles, as measured from their position of rest, the louder the tones produced.

Their pitch or relative height depends solely on the length of time each vibration occupies, or, as it is more usually put, on the number of vibrations made in a second: that is called the vibrational number of the sonorous body, and the greater it is, the higher the pitch of the tone it gives. Methods have been invented for the reckoning of vibrations, and it is found that, if they sink so low as about

30 per second, the ear can scarcely collect them into a series : others follow one another with such rapidity as to count by thousands in a second. In other words, musical tones are roughly said to range between 40 and 4000 vibrations in a second, and to extend over seven octaves, while those which are audible at all range between 20 and 38,000 a second, and extend over eleven octaves, which will serve to show the marvellous capacity the ear has of distinguishing sounds in respect of pitch.

Musical tones differ in quality, as when we distinguish the human voice from the note of an organ, although it may be of the same loudness and pitch ; this is, further, said to depend on the form of vibration, which, in its turn, may vary indefinitely. For example, it may be pendular or resemble the swings of a pendulum, as in the case of a tuning-fork ; or they may be like the motions of a hammer which is uplifted by a water-wheel at regular intervals, as in the case of a string excited by a violin-bow. Mathematicians and physicists classify musical tones into simple and compound, without including in the latter term chords, which they regard as composite tones. Leaving these last altogether on one side, the only tones they look at as simple are those produced by pendular vibrations, and all others they analyse into pendular ones. This resolution of all other vibrations

into pendular ones was in the first instance arbitrary and a mere matter of convenience, but Helmholtz and others have shown that it has a meaning in nature, and they consider it as proved that the organism of the ear is such that it perceives pendular vibrations alone as simple tones, and resolves other periodic motions of the air into a series of pendular vibrations, hearing the simple tones which correspond to these simple vibrations. Thus when a tone is produced, say *c*, on the violin, a practised ear hears not only *c*, but also its octave *c'*, the fifth of the latter *g'*, the second higher octave *c''*, and so on, as follows:—



Here *c*, the lowest note, is the fundamental or prime partial tone ; it is also generally the loudest, and gives its pitch to the whole tone. *C'* is the first (harmonic) upper partial, and it makes twice as many vibrations per second : *g'* is the second upper partial, and makes thrice as many vibrations as *c* : so with the others, which become fainter and fainter the higher they go. It is to be observed that any interference with the relative force or loudness of any partial tone or tones is

recognised by the ear as a change of quality of the compound tone ; and *vice versa* the quality of a compound tone depends on nothing whatever but the relative force of the partial tones : it is important to keep this resolution, in the last resort, of quality into considerations of quantity in mind as we go on. The question of the composition of tones, has been also successfully attacked from another direction ; for Helmholtz has been able to produce given tones by means of suitable combinations of the simple tones of forks tuned to the respective pitches of the partials they are to stand for.

Another meaning which this resolution of musical tones has in nature appears in the phenomena of sympathetic resonance. An instance or two will explain what is meant by the term :—Gently touch one of the keys of a pianoforte so as merely to raise the damper, and then sing a note of the corresponding pitch, forcibly directing the voice against the strings of the instrument : the note will be heard from the pianoforte when you have ceased to sing. When the strings of two violins are in exact unison, and one is excited by the bow, the other will begin to vibrate. It is well known that bell-shaped glasses can be put into violent motion by singing their proper tone into them. Lastly, the vibrations of a fork which has been

struck are rendered more strongly audible by being held near the mouth of a bottle or any other resonance chamber in which the air is of the same pitch as the fork. As to the pitch of the air in a bottle, anybody, however dull he may be, may experiment on that : for instance, if you blow over the mouth of a bottle when it is empty, you will find that it yields a deeper and more hollow sound than when it has been half filled with water, and that its pitch will be still higher when it is filled nearly up to the neck.

In the case of the voice, the tones are produced by the vocal chords in the larynx, and they are of the compound nature already described ; and the cavities lying between the vocal chords and the lips form one or more resonance chambers by which the tones produced in the vocal chords are influenced. The mouth in speaking assumes a great variety of shapes, and as many of the latter as imply also a difference of pitch of the resonance chambers they form will exercise a different influence on the quality of the tone ; for resonances differing in pitch reinforce different partial tones, which is at once recognised by the ear as a change of quality of the compound tone. When, for instance, the resonance cavity of the mouth is at its full length in ordinary pronunciation, its pitch is lowest, and it reinforces the prime partial

tone, which then yields our *w* (English *oo*): compare the case alluded to of the empty bottle. When the same resonance cavity is at its shortest, and its pitch, consequently, high, it reinforces the very high partials, and the vowel produced is Welsh *i*: compare the case of the bottle filled with water nearly up to the neck. An intermediate state of the resonance causes the reinforcement of some of the lower partials, thus producing our *a*: compare the case of the bottle half filled with water. Of course the pitch of the tone is here assumed to be constant as produced by the vocal chords, and the pitch of the resonances to vary: it is to this variation that we owe all the tone-qualities which we write in Welsh *a, e, i, o, u, w*, and to nothing else.

Professor Helmholtz has succeeded in compounding the tones of the more common vowels from the simple tones of tuning-forks, thereby also assigning the relative force of the different partials required to make up each vowel: in other words, he can make his forks, which he regulates by means of electricity, sing out the German vowels *a, e, i, o, u*, which I roughly venture to treat as equivalent to our *a, e, i, o, w*. Many experiments have been made by different men to ascertain the exact pitch or vibrational number of the resonance cavities for the vowels. One of them has arrived at the following results,

when the vocal chords are tuned to b_p and c' is assumed to make 256 vibrations in a second :—

Vowel.....	w ,	o ,	a ,	e ,	i .
Note.....	b_p ,	b'_p ,	b''_p ,	b'''_p ,	b''''_p .
Vibrational No....	224,	448,	896,	1792,	3584.

According to this, the pitch of the resonance implied in the vowels rises an octave successively in the order here given : unfortunately, this simple relation is not corroborated by the experiments of other investigators. However, they do not so far differ as to establish another order of the vowels, though they do not find the intervals to be exactly the same. It will suffice for our purpose to assume, what is fully sustained by the present state of the evidence, namely, that the difference of resonance pitch between w and a is greater than between w and o or o and a , and so with the others. In other words, I would say that the vowels w , o , a , e , i , are separated each from the next to it by a single step, without insisting on the four steps being exactly equal.

Should it, then, be found that w coming near a is modified into o , or a coming near i is modified into e , these and the like would clearly be cases of partial assimilation. Now assimilation of this description is well known to be a marked feature of the Finnic languages, but it is not unknown in

other languages, and among them in Irish and Welsh. The Irish instances have been discussed at some length by Ebel in Kuhn's *Beitraege* in the course of his Celtic studies in the first volume of that publication. I will confine myself to a brief mention of a few of the Welsh ones. Foremost among the latter may be mentioned the sequence *u—a*, making *o—a* in the history of simple adjectives such as these: *crom* 'curved, bent,' fem. *crom*, *crown* 'round,' fem. *cron*, *dnfn* 'deep,' fem. *dofn*, *hwn* 'this,' fem. *hon*, *llwm* 'bare,' fem. *llom*, and *trwm* 'heavy,' fem. *trom*. Now *trwm*, *trom*, for example, points to a common Celtic pair of forms, *trumba-s* mas., *trumbā* fem., which became respectively in the course of time *trumb* and *trumba*, the ending of the masculine having been discarded earlier than that of the feminine, which is supposed to have retained it until the *a* had caused the *u* to be assimilated into *o*, whereby *trumba* became *tromba*: lastly the *a* disappeared, but not without thus leaving the feminine of the adjective a form distinct from the masculine. *Trwm*, I may notice in passing, is of the same origin as the English verb to *throng* and the German *drang* and *druck*, the *b* of the *trumb*- it implies being the regular Celtic continuator of *gv*, which is attested in the O. Norse *thröngva*, 'to press.' In the case of *pndr*, 'rotten,' fem. *podr*,

the Latin adjective, from which these words are borrowed, seems to have been treated as though it were not *putris*, but *putrus*, *putra*. It is not to be inferred from these instances that the assimilation in question is confined to adjectives: most Welsh names of the feminine gender which happen to be monosyllables with the vowel *o* are illustrations of it. In a few cases a form with *w* has been suggested by that in *o*: thus from Latin *furca* we have *fforch* and also *ffwrch*, but both feminine: *ffordd*, 'a way,' yields the phrase *i ffordd*, 'away,' which is *i fwrdd* in South Wales: so also *cwd* seems to be later than *cod*, which, though differing in gender, have the common meaning of the word *bag*. This much by way of introduction to a word of considerable interest: Venantius Fortunatus, a travelled Italian of the 6th century mentions, among other musical instruments known in his day, a "chrotta Britanna." This *chrotta*, which I take to be his spelling of *crotta*, is in point of form the prototype of our modern word *croth*, feminine, and in point of meaning of the masculine *crwth*; *croth* now means the womb, also the calf of the leg, while *crwth* means the crowd or rote, a box hollowed out of a piece of wood especially for holding salt, and a hump on the back. So, unless there were *crutt* and *crotta* synonymous in meaning, which is cer-

tainly very possible, one must conclude that *crotta* had all the meanings mentioned, that is to say, until it suggested a corresponding masculine to share them with it. This view is confirmed by the fact that the Irish form *cruit* remains feminine, and means both a crowd or fiddle and a hump on the back. The *crowth* was undoubtedly so called from its shape, and the word for it appears to be of the same origin as the Greek *κυρτός*, *κυρτή*, *κυρτόν*, 'curved, arched, round, humped, convex.'

Similarly among the instances of the sequence *i—a* making *e—a*, the gender adjectives claim the first place; the following are some of them: *brych* 'freckled,' fem. *brech*, *byr* 'short,' fem. *ber*, *crych* 'crisped,' fem. *crech*, *gwlyb* 'wet,' fem. *gwlebb*, *gmych* 'brave, fine, noble,' fem. *gwech*, *llym* 'sharp,' fem. *llem*, *melyn* 'yellow,' fem. *melen*. Here *brych*, *brech*, for instance, stand for *bricc*, *brecca* = *bricca*; but I hesitate to include in the same category the adjective *gwyn*, 'white,' fem. *gwen*, the antecedents of which may have been not *vind*, *venda*, but *vend*, *venda*, for the Breton form is *gwenn* of both genders, and while the syllable *vend* occurs several times in our early inscriptions, *vind* is unknown in them.✕ In this case the assimilative action of the *a* of the feminine would have been simply negative, with the effect of preventing the *e* passing into *y* as in the

masculine. To the foregoing may be added one or two adjectives from Latin, such as *ffyrf*, 'strong, stout, solid,' fem. *fferf*, from *firmus*, *firma*; and *sych*, 'dry,' fem. *sech*, from *siccus*, *sicca*; nor are there wanting instances of nouns such as *cylched*, 'a bedding or bedcover,' from *culcita*, *maneg*, 'a glove,' from *manica*, and *gramadeg*, 'a grammar,' from *grammatica*. There is, however, a native Welsh ending *eg* = *-ica*, as in *daeareg*, 'geology,' from *daear*, 'earth,' and *Cymraeg*, 'the Welsh language,' for some such a form as *Combragica*, the masculine being *Cymreig*, 'Welsh,' for *Combragic*. There are also in use in Welsh the feminine terminations *ell* (= *-illa*) and *es* (= *-issa* or *-ista*), as in the case of *priddell*, 'mould, clod,' from *pridd*, 'soil, mould,' *brenhines*, 'a queen,' from *brenhin*, 'a king.' And one of the most useful terminations in the language is *en* (= *-inna* or *-inda*), which is matched in the masculine by *-yn*, as in *melyn*, *melen*, 'yellow': take as examples *cloren*, 'a tail,' from *clawr*, 'covering, a lid,' *dalen*, 'a leaf,' plural *dail*, *seren*, 'a star,' plural *ser*.

There now remains the converse change of *a*—*i* into *e*—*i*, which takes place indifferently where the *i* remains and where it is blunted into *y*, as in the following instances:—*Cyntefig* 'pristine,' from *cyntaf* 'first,' *glendid* 'cleanness,' from *glan* 'clean,' *heli* 'brine,' from *hal-en* 'salt,' *iechyd*

'health,' from *iach* 'healthy,' *plentyn* 'a child,' from *plant* 'children,' *rheffyn* 'a cord or rope,' from *rhaff* 'a rope;' these last belong to that extensive class of formations already referred to *à propos* of the ending *en* of the feminine.

Further, the passing of *a* into *ei*—liable in Mod. Welsh to become *ai*—has commonly been attributed to the effect of an *i*; but this is not quite correct, for the occasion of the change is not the presence of the vowel *i*, but of the semi-vowel so written in Welsh, which it will here be expedient to write *j*. The correctness of this view will appear to any one who is content to proceed from the known to the unknown. When the Welsh borrowed Latin words, they seem to have treated Latin *i* unaccented and followed by another vowel as *j*; so we have *breich* (now *braich*), 'the arm,' from *brachium*; *rhaidd*, 'a spear or pike,' from *radius*, 'a staff, spoke, beam;' *cyd-breiniog*, 'feeding together,' from *prandium*, 'breakfast, the fodder of animals;' *rheibjo*, 'to snatch, bewitch,' from *rapio*, 'I seize, carry off, ravish, captivate;' *yspaid*, 'a space of time,' from *spatium*. Similarly, *Maria* and *Daniel*, treated as dissyllables, yielded in Welsh *Meir* (now *Mair*) and *Deinjoel* (now *Deinjol*). So in native words such as *lleiddjad*, 'a slayer,' from *lladd*, 'to kill,' *edifeirjol*, 'repentant,' from *edifar*, 'sorry for, full of

regret for,' *creifjon*, 'scrapings,' from *crafu*, 'to scrape,' and *meibjon*, 'sons,' from *mab*, 'a son.' Thus it seems natural to conclude that such forms as *geir* (now *gair*), 'a word,' stands for *gar-j-*, with a termination—perhaps *ja*—which began with *j*, but which has altogether disappeared excepting that the *j* constantly reappears in related or derived forms, such as, for instance, in the case of *gair*, the plural *geirjau*, 'words,' or the derivative *geirjad*, 'a wording.' This category would include a very large number of words, and among others such plurals as *brein* (now *brain*), 'crows,' from *bran*, 'a crow,' and the old neuter plurals of which the O. Welsh *enucin*, 'names,' may be taken as a specimen—this and the O. Irish plural *anmann* seem to point to a lengthened form, *an-*
 X *man-ja*.^X Possibly, also, such third persons singular of the verb as *geill*, ('he, she, it) can,' stands for *galljat* (= *galja-ti*), with which compare the X
 Lithuanian *galiù*, 'I can.' The assimilation in all the examples here enumerated must have at first consisted in replacing the sequence *a-j-*, by *e-j-*; further preparation for the *j* was made by making the latter into *ei-j-*. In Breton and Cornish this second step was never taken; hence it is that to our *breich* and *geir* they oppose *brech* and *ger*. But this is not unknown in Welsh itself: thus in the *Liber Landavensis*, *Brycheinjog* 'Brecknock-

shire' is called *Brechenjauc*, from Brychan's name, and the name *Meirchjon* is there mostly given as *Merchjon* or *Merchjaun*, supposed to be the Welsh forms of the Latin *Marcianus*; nay even now *cen-jog* and *celjog* may be heard in Denbighshire, Anglesey, and probably other parts of North Wales, for *ceinjog*, 'a penny,' and *ceijog*, 'a cock.' In a few instances *o—j-* also becomes *e—j-* and *ei—j-*, as in *yspeil* (now *yspail*), 'spoil,' from Latin *spolium*, and *Emreis* (less usual than *Emrys*), from *Ambrosius*. I have not yet observed any native instances in point. And where the original sequence was *e—j-*, we sometimes find it superseded by *ei—j-*, as in *teirthon*, 'the tertian ague,' from Latin *tertiana*, and in *unbeinjaeth*, which is sometimes to be met with for the more usual *unbennaeth*, 'monarchy,' and in North Wales, *heddym*, 'to-day,' has passed through *heddjw* into *heiddjw*,^x which is the prevalent pronunciation of the word there at the present day.

As it is beyond the scope of this lecture to follow the Welsh vowels into all their details, attention will now be directed to a number of changes which amount to a reorganisation of the whole system. But a few words must be premised on the tone or syllabic accent in Welsh, and the quantity or force of the vowels as regulated by it and the consonants immediately following them.

Welsh monosyllables have an independent accent with the 'exception of about a dozen proclitics. The great majority of longer words are paroxytones, and most of the exceptions are more apparent than real, being perispomena, such as *glanhâu*, 'to cleanse,' from *glanhá-u* = *glanhá(g)-u*, and *cyfjamnhâd*, 'justification,' from *cyfjamnhá-ad* = *cyfjamnhá(g)-ad*. Moreover, a few oxytones may still be heard, such as *ymolch*, 'wash thyself.' In O. Welsh, words accented on the final syllable seem to have been much more numerous than now, and to have included all words which had the diphthong *am* (*au*) in it: take, for instance, *hestaur*, 'a *sextarius*, a measure of capacity,' *bardaul*, 'bardic,' and the like. Welsh vowels, when single, admit of being pronounced in three ways—they may be either long or short, and, when short, they may be either open or closed. It will suffice to call them long, short, and closed respectively. The long vowels are much of the same quantity as in English: thus our *bod* is pronounced like English *bode* with long *o*. The short vowels also occur in both languages: the *i*, for instance, of *dinas*, 'a city,' and the *y* of *myned*, 'to go,' sound very nearly like the English *i* and *o* of *dinner* and *money* respectively. The closed vowels are those which are suddenly and forcibly broken off or closed by

a succeeding consonant: our *pen*, 'head,' *tan*, 'under,' *at*, 'to,' sound in this respect like the English words *pen*, *tan*, *at*. A word now as to their distribution: accented monosyllables have their single vowels long or closed, short ones being admissible only in the proclitics. Longer words, which are not perispomena, admit only short and closed vowels: short or closed in the tone-syllable, short only in other syllables; and, conversely, all unaccented syllables have their single vowels short. These distinctions have regard only to the quantity and force of the vowels, not to their quality; for although a good ear could hardly fail to detect differences of quality between the *a*'s, for instance, in *tān*, 'a fire,' *tānau*, 'fires,' *tànjo*, 'to fire,' the language treats them as the same *a* varying in quantity and force, and so they will here be dealt with.

The triple pronunciation of the vowel is, as it has just been pointed out, recognised in English, but in Welsh it has been stereotyped into a system, the meaning of which it is the business of phonology to explain. The vowels of the Aryan parent-speech may be regarded as having come down into Early Welsh with values which may, roughly speaking, be called constant, whereas the value of those of Mod. Welsh, as far as regards their quantity and force, depends on their position. The question, then, is how they came to

exchange their constant values for positional values, and how comparative uniformity was elicited from the original variety. The cases to be taken into account range themselves into three groups: those where long vowels have been shortened, those where short vowels have been lengthened, and those where no perceptible change of force or quantity is attested.

Take the first: that a long vowel should be shortened when it occurs in an unaccented syllable seems to us, with our modern way of marking the accented syllable by a greater stress of the voice, so natural as to require no remark, and we pass on to the same modification when it happens under the accent. This concerns the vowels *ū*, *ī*, and the Early Welsh continuator of Aryan *ā*. Thus *ū* is shortened in *ūnol*, 'united,' and closed in *ūndeb*, 'union,' from *ūn*, 'one,' and so in other words. Traces of the operation of this law, which is general in Welsh, may be found in English; witness such words as *nōse*, *nōstril*; *vīne*, *vīneyard*; *hōuse*, *hūsbānd*, *hūssy*; *nātion*, *nātionāl*. It is not, however, confined to these more palpable cases, for Mr. Barlow finds that the syllable *ex*, for instance, when pronounced by itself, appears in the diagram described by the marker of the logograph considerably longer than when it is spoken as a part of such a word as *excommuni- cate*; in the latter it becomes, he says in the

paper already alluded to, compressed, its length being shortened and its height increased. The reason for such a law is perhaps to be sought in the fact that the centre of gravity, so to speak, of a word is in the accented vowel: if that happens to be in the final syllable, it may remain long; if not, there seems to exist a sort of instinctive tendency to share the breath and time required for uttering that syllable between it and the remaining portion of the word. The ideal limit of this would be to devote exactly the same amount of breath and time to the pronunciation, for instance, of *tānau* and *tān*, of *national* and *nation*. The comparatively rare occurrence of such cases of vowel-shortening, due to the influence of the accent in Latin, still rarer in Greek, as well as the nature of the metres the Greeks and Romans used in their poetry, seems to warrant the inference that the ancient accent mainly implied a difference of pitch, while ours in English and Welsh mainly means a difference of loudness or force, the change of pitch being mostly considered secondary, or passed over unobserved. As we go on it will appear by no means improbable that Welsh was adopting (or had already adopted) in the 8th century our modern accent in lieu of that which may be called the classical accent. The effects of such a change

must have been very considerable on our vowel system, though they are exceedingly hard to define. But as similar changes have occurred in the history of the majority of the modern languages of Europe, comparative phonology may reasonably be expected at some future day to solve the problem satisfactorily.

The next vowel is *ī*, which we failed to detect as the continuator of Aryan *ī*. It is even doubtful whether it was not sometimes *ī* in Early Welsh, as well as *ī*. It would be hard, for instance, to prove that it was at any time long in the word *elin*: the cognate forms are Ir. *uille*, "ulnas," Eng. *ell*, *el-bow*, Lat. *ulna*, Greek *ὠλένη*, Skr. *aratnī*; and it is certain that it never was long in *anifel*, 'an animal,' from Lat. *animal* or one of its oblique cases. However, even where it must have always been long in Welsh, as in *gwir*, 'true' (Ir. *fir*, Lat. *vērūs*), and *dīn*, 'a fort, a town' (Ir. *dún*, Eng. *town*), we find the quantity of the vowel short when a syllable is added, as in *annwired*, 'untruth,' and *dīnas*, 'a city,' and so in others.

The fortunes of Aryan *ā* in Welsh are still more interesting: towards the close of the Early Welsh period it had become *ō*, which by the 9th century had been diphthongised into *aw* (written *au*) in monosyllables and other words where it was accented in the final syllable, as in O. Welsh

lau, now *llaw*, 'a hand,' and *paup*, now *pamb*, 'everybody,' and the like; but in those positions, where long vowels are inadmissible, not only was its diphthongisation into *aw* arrested, but the *ō* was reduced sooner or later to *ō*: so by the side of *paup* and *hestaur* (*sextārius*) O. Welsh offers us *popptu*, 'on every side,' and *hestorjou*, the plural of *hestaur*, and so on. So it seems probable that the reorganisation of the Welsh vowel system came upon the vowel in question when it was *ō*, but before it had begun to be diphthongised into *aw*. In Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, as edited by Mr. Moberly (Oxford, 1869), the proper names have been printed as they occur in the oldest manuscript of the work, which is assigned to the year 737, and there the Abbot of Bangor who met Augustine is called *Dinoot*. Welsh tradition calls him *Dunaut*, later *Dunawd*. There can be no doubt as to the virtual identity of *Dinoot* and *Dunaut*, nor, as I think, as to both being forms of the Latin name *Dōnātus*, which was not unknown in Britain in the time of the Roman occupation, when many more Latin names were adopted by the Britons. Now *Dinoot* and *Dunaut* show that Bede had the same difficulty in distinguishing Welsh *ū* from *ī* as the natives of South Wales have in our own day, and that his *oo* probably meant *ō*, which had not been diphthong-

ised. Bede is supposed to have lived from 672 to 734, but he may have been copying from an earlier writer. However, we should probably not be far wrong in supposing the reorganisation of the vowel system to have been in process during the century from 650 to 750: probably it began long before, and it is certain that it lasted long after. It is worth while observing, that the same law which gives us *au* in monosyllables and *ø* in longer words, has also been at work in Irish, as in the following words, which I copy from the *Gram. Celtica*,² p. 18:—*cliab*, “corbis,” *clébene*, “sporta;” *fiach*, “debitum,” *fechem*, “debitor;” *grian*, “sol,” *grene*, “solis;” *sliab*, “mons,” *slebib*, “montibus,” to which I would add *dia*, ‘god,’ genitive *déi* for *dévi*. In the case of *úa* and *ó* more uncertainty prevails, but Zeuss (p. 23) gives *huar*, “hora,” genitive *hóre*, and *suas*, “sursum,” but *i sósið* “in altis.”

Next comes the group which comprises the cases of vowels undergoing a lengthening. This happens almost exclusively in monosyllables, and conversely it takes place in all monosyllables—provided they are not proclitics, or that their vowels are not already *ū*, *ī*, or a diphthong—which close with any one of the consonants *g*, *d*, *b*; *dd*, *f*; and *n* and *l*, where they were not formerly doubled or accompanied by another consonant.

Take, for instance, the following words: *gnag*, 'empty,' *tad*, 'father,' *pið*, 'a pipe,' *bedd*, 'a tomb,' *claf*, 'ill,' *glan*, 'clean,' *pml*, 'blunted;' if the word is lengthened by the addition of a syllable, then the vowel returns to its original quantity, as in *bëddau*, 'tombs,' and *glänach*, 'cleaner.' This process of lengthening the vowels of monosyllables was not complete in the early part of the O. Welsh period: witness the Capella glosses *hepp*, now *hëb* or *ëb*, 'quoth,' and *nepp*, now *nëb*, 'anybody.' Neither is it easy to account for; but it may be surmised that, as most of our monosyllables represent words originally of two (or sometimes more) syllables, the vowel of the leading syllable was reinforced by way of compensating for the discarding of the rest of the word, a long monosyllable being, metrically speaking, a better equivalent for a dissyllable than a short one. Possibly, also, the mistaken analogy of such forms as *paup* and *popptu* exercised an influence in the same direction. There is another consideration which is of more weight than the foregoing: in the earlier stages of the Aryan languages the pitch-accent prevailed, and consequently a mode of pronunciation was usual which is far less so in those of their modern representatives, where the stress-accent is dominant. I allude to such words as Latin *päter*, *bönus*.

These were not *patter*, *bonnus*, in spite of the French *bon*, *bonne*, nor *päter*, *bönus*, in spite of the Italian *pādre*, *buōno*, and the Anglo-Latin monstrosities *payter*, *bonnus*. But enough has been said to show that such a word as *bönus* had a tendency, under the influence of the stress-accent, to become either *bonnus* or *bönus*. The latter represents the course with which the student of Welsh is mostly concerned. The same tendency is well known also in Modern Greek, where *λόγος* is now *λωγος*, and it is widely stereotyped in Mod. High German, which is said to be distinguished from Mid. H. German by its lengthening the short tone-vowels followed by single consonants, as in *gēben*, 'to give,' and *hāben*, 'to have.' We have it also in English: take the words *āpe*, *māke*, *lāte*, *lāme*, which were formerly *āpa*, *mācian*, *lāta*, *lāma*. The analogy between the English words and the Welsh ones in question is so complete—both lengthen the tone-vowels, and both discard the inflectional endings—that one cannot help suspecting their having been subjected to the operation of the same causes.

In the foregoing enumeration of the consonants requiring long tone-vowels to precede them, no mention was made—the explanation required being somewhat different—of the rule, that the vowel must also be long before *ch*, *th*, *ff*, and *s*, as in

coch, 'red,' *croth*, 'the womb,' *rhaff*, 'a rope,' and *glas*, 'blue, green, grey.' The antecedents of these spirants were respectively *cc* (or *cs*), *tt*, *pp*, and *ss* (mostly for *st*): take for instance our *coch*, which is probably from *coccum*, 'scarlet,' and *croth*, which has already been traced to *crotta*: these were no doubt pronounced *cöccum* and *crötta*, which might be expected to have yielded in the first place *cöch* and *cröth*. These last would eventually become *cōch* and *crōth*, owing to the analogy of the other cases already mentioned, and to the reaction on the vowels of the spirants, which, not being instantaneous in their pronunciation, are not favourable to a clean cutting off of the vowels preceding them. And so in the case of the other spirants, including *s*, whence a difference between Irish and Welsh in words otherwise identical, such as *glas*; ours being *gläs*, while the Irish is *gläs*. Supposing the steps *cöccum*, *cöch*, *cōch* were made out, we should still find a difficulty in assigning the time when the short vowel was lengthened; but Welsh verse offers a case of assonance which deserves a passing mention. Dafydd ab Gwilym (1340-1400) makes *och*, 'oh,' answer such words as *coch*, 'red,' and *cloch*, 'a bell,' thus:

"Och ! Och ! y Ddol Goch wedi gwyl."

Now the interjection is an exception, being pro-

nounced not *ôch* but *och*, and such assonances have been supposed to show that its pronunciation was formerly regular, that is *ôch*. But the question may be put in two ways: has *och* been shortened contrary to analogy, or has it merely retained its original quantity of vowel contrary to analogy? In the latter case it would follow that D. ab Gwilym spoke *clôch*, *côch*, and not *clôch*, *côch*, as we do.

So far of the vowels which change their quantity, and of the conditions under which that happens: a word now on the third group, where no perceptible change of quantity has taken place. The instances here in point are of two kinds: words with closed vowels as *bâlch*, 'proud,' *bâlchder*, 'pride,' *plânt*, *plântach*, 'children,' *dâr*, 'a piece,' *dâr**nau*, 'pieces;' and those with short vowels such as *hânes*, 'history,' *âfal*, 'an apple,' *mûddeu*, 'to forgive.' In these no great change of quantity of the tone-vowels can have occurred from the earliest times, though no doubt some modification may have followed the passage from the pitch-accent of the ancients to the stress-accent of our own day. The number of instances in this third group is probably far in excess of that in the two former groups put together, if we confine ourselves to the tone-syllable, which after all is the kernel of all our words: so that our vowel system

has altogether been more conservative than might be inferred from the somewhat lengthy remarks to which those other groups gave rise.

The processes already mentioned of reorganising the Welsh vowel system were probably well over by the end of the Mediæval Period in the history of the language. Before concluding this lecture a few more have to be noticed, some of which are not only later in time than the foregoing, but, to some extent, probably owe their origin to the influence of the analogy of the latter. Consider for a moment the individuality so strongly impressed in the ways already pointed out by Welsh phonology on certain monosyllables as compared with the same when forming parts of longer words, and take as instances the following:—*cōch*, 'red,' superl. *cōchaf*, *llāth*, 'a rod,' *llāthen*, 'a yard,' *tād*, 'a father,' *tādol*, 'fatherly,' *māb*, 'a son, a boy,' *mēbyd*, 'boyhood,' *brad*, 'a brother,' *brōdyr*, 'brothers,' *tarodd*, 'molten,' *tōddi*, 'to melt.' Here we have a tolerably well-defined contrast which came to be impressed on another class of words, namely, such as have a diphthong in the tone-syllable. This was done by adding, so to say, to the weight of the monosyllable, by diminishing that of the corresponding part of the longer form, or by both processes at once. The diphthongs, the history of which is here concerned, are our modern

ai, au, ae, oe, ny. Mediæval Welsh *ei* becomes *ai* in modern monosyllables, as in *bei*, now *bai*, 'blame,' pl. *beiau*, *geir*, now *gair*, 'a word,' pl. *geirjau*, *Meir*, now *Mair*, 'Mary;' the proclitics *ei*, 'his,' *ei*, 'her,' are of course not subject to this change: the same applies to independent monosyllables which happen to be already sufficiently weighted, as when they end with two consonants, such as *geifr*, 'goats,' *meirch*, 'steeds,' *ysceifn*, the plural of *yscafn*, 'light, not heavy.' Med. Welsh *eu* becomes *au*, as in *deu*, now *dau*, 'two,' and *heul*, now *haul*, 'sun,' *heulog*, 'sunny;' the proclitic *eu* 'their' remains, like *ei*, unchanged: the same applies to *neu*, 'or.' Old Welsh *ai* (pronounced probably with the blunted *i*, which we now write *y* or *u*) becomes *ae* so early as the beginning of the Med. Welsh period, as for instance in *air*, later *aer*, 'a battle,' and *cai*, later *cae*, 'a field.' The spelling *ae*, however, is also retained in words of more than one syllable, as in *aerfa*, 'a battle-field,' and *caeau*, 'fields.' But the pronunciation varies between *au* or *ai* and *eu* or *ei*. In a few words this relation is optionally indicated by the ordinary orthography, as in *aeth*, 'ivit,' but *euthum*, 'ivi,' and *euthost*, 'ivisti,' *maes*, 'a field,' *meusydd*, 'fields;' in the colloquial, *ae* in an unaccented final syllable is mostly reduced into a single vowel, whereby such words

as *hiraeth*, 'longing,' become in South Wales *hireth*, and the like. A word which in O. Welsh would have had the single form *mai*, is in Mod. Welsh both *mae* and *mai*: the former means 'is,' the latter is a proclitic with the force of the English conjunction *that*: the same use of a verb as a conjunction occurs in *tav*, 'that,' commonly used in South Wales instead of *mai*: *tav* is obsolete as a verb, but not so its Irish equivalent *tá*, 'is.' O. Welsh *oi* (also probably pronounced with *i* = our modern *u* or *y*) makes *oe* in Med. Welsh, and later, as when O. Welsh *ois* becomes *oes*, 'age, generation,' and *oid* becomes *oedd*, 'was.' The spelling *oe* is also retained in other words than those of one syllable: take for instance the O. Welsh *ois oisoud*, 'sæculum sæculorum,' later *oes oesoedd*, pronounced in North and South Wales respectively *oes ousoudd*, *oes oisoidd*, or still more colloquially with *ousodd*, *oisodd*, the diphthong in the unaccented ending being reduced to a single vowel as in many other words, such as *mynyddodd*, 'mountains,' *nefodd*, 'heavens, heaven,' written *mynyddoedd*, *nefoedd*. As to the diphthong *my*, when it occurs in an accented syllable followed by another syllable in the same word, the accent under favourable circumstances shifts from the *w* to the *y*, whereby the former becomes a semi-vowel, as in *gŷydd*, 'a goose,' but *gŷyddau*, 'geese.' This modi-

fication is probably very modern, and otherwise this diphthong may be regarded as the most unchangeable, excepting *ew*, in the language, as the old spelling *ui* probably meant exactly the same sounds which we write *my*. But as *ny* and *oe* represent an early *oi* which came down into O. Welsh partly as *oi* (now *oe*), partly as *ui* (our *ny*), the difficult question as to the cause of this bifurcation meets us. The following answer is a mere guess, to be taken for what it is worth. In Mod. Welsh the diphthongs, when accented, have the accent on the leading vowel (excepting in such cases as that of *grŷddau*, where *ny* ceases to be a diphthong), as in *gáir*, *máe*, *óedd*, and *grŷdd*. But it may well be that it was not always so, and that *gair*, for instance, was preceded by *geir* for *geirja* and *garjá*, the advance of the accent having been gradual—*garjá*, *geirja*, *geir*, *gáir*. Take also such words as *draen*, 'a thorn,' plural *drain*, which may be inferred to stand for *dráin* sing. *drein* plural, and these for *dragn* and *dregn-i* or *dregn-ja*: the cognate Irish is *draighen*, 'thorn.' Similarly *dau* would imply *deú*, and so in other instances. Should these guesses turn out well founded, one would have to regard *oen*, 'a lamb,' for instance, and its plural *myn*, as representing *óin* sing. and *óin* plural, for *oin-i* or *oin-ja*, with an ending indicative of the plural number retained

intact at a time when the singular had been reduced to a monosyllable. This agrees tolerably well with the fact that Latin \bar{e} makes πy in Welsh, as in *canrŷll*, 'a candle,' and *afŷryn*, 'a rein,' from *candēla* and *habēna*, while the oxytone *Δαυήλ* has in Welsh yielded *Deinjoel*, now *Deinjol*. If the antecedents of our *ai*, *au*, *ae*, *oe*, *ny* were *eí*, *eú*, *ái*, *ói*, *oí*, the modification thereby implied admits of being described simply as the replacing the unaccented vowel by a nearly related vowel of a lower pitch of resonance, a principle the working of which is, I am inclined to think, also to be detected elsewhere in the language: for instance, where Mod. Welsh replaces *eu* in unaccented final syllables by *au*, as in *pethau*, 'things,' *gorau* 'best,' *borau*, 'morning.' Compare also the disuse of *enwiredl*, 'untruth,' *engyljon*, 'angels,' *llenwenydd*, 'joy,' in favour of the forms *anwiredl*, *angyljon*, *llawenydd*, and the like.

LECTURE IV.

"As his craze is astronomical, he will most likely make few converts, and will be forgotten after at most a passing laugh from scientific men. But if his craze had been historical or philological, he might have put forth notions quite as absurd as the notion that the earth is flat, and many people would not have been in the least able to see that they were absurd. If any scholar had tried to confute him, we should have heard of 'controversies' and 'differences of opinion.'"—THE SATURDAY REVIEW.

It is my intention now to call your attention to the continuity of the Welsh language; but before we attempt to trace it back step by step to the time of the Roman occupation, it may be well to premise that history fails to give us any indications which would lead us to infer that the Welsh of the present day are not in the main the lineal descendants of the people whom the Romans found here. No doubt the race received an infusion of foreign blood in those neighbourhoods where the Roman legions had permanent stations; but its character does not seem to have been much influenced by contact with the English, at any rate previously to the Norman Conquest. As to the Danes, they have hardly left behind them a trace of their visits to our shores, and that the Irish occupied any part of Wales for a length of time

still remains to be proved. Certainly the effects of such an occupation, even were it established, on our language will be hard to discover. The monuments to be met with in Wales and elsewhere in the West of Britain alleged to belong to the Irish will presently come under notice. Thus it would seem that we are entitled to expect to find our Welsh to have been continued without any violent interruption from the common language of the Kymric race in the time of Agricola, to which belonged not only Wales, including Monmouthshire, but also Devon and Cornwall, a considerable portion of the west and middle of England, nearly all the north of it, and a part of Scotland. To what extent the country was occupied by non-Kymric races is a question which will occupy us as we go on. Subsequently to the decisive battle of Chester in 607, when the English succeeded in severing the Welsh of Gwynedd from their countrymen in Lancashire and the North, the Kymric population of the west of the island found themselves cut up into three sections, the Strathclyde Britons, those of Wales, and those south of the Bristol Channel. As to the northern section, it was not long ere English drove the old language off the ground. In Cornwall it survived to differentiate itself considerably from Welsh, and to become extinct as a spoken language only in the last cen-

ture. In the middle section, that is, in Wales, you need not be told that it is still living and vigorous, though its domain is getting more and more circumscribed. One may accordingly assume, at any rate provisionally, that the Kymric people of the North, of Wales, and of Devonshire and Cornwall, spoke the same language till the end of the 7th century or thereabouts; so in writing on early Welsh we claim the use of ancient Kymric monuments, whether they occur in Wales itself, in Devonshire, or in the vicinity of Edinburgh. Of course one is not to suppose that within that range there were no dialectic variations; but they were probably not such as to make themselves disturbing elements within the compass of our early inscriptions. The case is different when the latter are compared with those of Ireland, the linguistic differences between the Kymric and the Goidelic nations being of a far older standing; but more of this anon.

Hitherto it has been usual to divide the Welsh language, historically considered, into three periods, namely, those of Old, Middle, and Modern Welsh. This classification was adopted at a time when very little was known to glottologists respecting our early inscribed stones, which mark out for us two periods of the language to which, in default of a better, the term *Early Welsh* may be

applied. This, however, cannot be done without rendering *Middle* Welsh inadmissible; but, in order to disturb the old terminology as little as possible, the adjective *Mediæval* may be used instead of *Middle*. Having premised this much, we proceed to parcel out the entire past of the language in the following manner :—

1. Prehistoric Welsh, ranging from the time when the ancestors of the Welsh and the Irish could no longer be said to form one nation, to the subjugation of the Britons by Julius Agricola, or, let us say, to the end of the first century.
2. Early Welsh of the time of the Roman occupation, from then to the departure of the Romans in the beginning of the fifth century.
3. Early Welsh of what is called the Brit-Welsh period, from that date till about the end of the seventh century, or the beginning of the eighth.
4. Old Welsh, from that time to the coming of the Normans into Wales in the latter part of the eleventh century.
5. Mediæval Welsh, from that time to the Reformation.
6. Modern Welsh, from that epoch to the present day.

This would be the order to follow if one had to produce specimens of the successive periods of the language, but for our present purpose it will be preferable to trace it back step by step from that stage in which we know it best to the other stages in which it is not so well known; in a word, to treat it as a question of identity. The lead, then, is to be taken by Modern Welsh, which I would distinguish into Biblical and Journalistic Welsh. By the latter is meant the vernacular, which we talk, and meet with, more or less touched up, in most of our newspapers. It is characterised by a growing tendency to copy English idioms, the result no doubt of frequent contact with English, and of continually translating from English. It is right to add that the number of the books and journals published in it is steadily increasing. Biblical Welsh, as the term indicates, is the language of the Welsh translations of the Bible, and a number of other books, mostly theological, of the time of the Reformation and later, and it is still the language in which our best authors endeavour to write. This overlapping of Biblical and Journalistic Welsh in our own day will serve to show that, when glottologists divide, for convenience' sake, the life of a language into periods, one is not to ask the day of the month when one period ends and the succeeding one begins. Passing be-

yond the time of the Reformation, we come to the Mediæval Welsh of the Bruts or chronicles, so called from the fashion, once common, of manufacturing a Brutus or Brytus to colonise this island, and to give it the name of Britain: he was held to have been a descendant of Æneas, and thus were the Welsh connected with Troy. To about the same time are to be assigned the romances called the Mabinogion, which consist mostly of tales respecting Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. Here also may be mentioned, as belonging to the earlier part of the period, the Venedotian versions of the Laws of Wales, which Aneurin Owen found to be in manuscripts of the 12th century, and it is to the 12th that Mr. Skene assigns the Black Book of Carmarthen in the Hengwrt Collection, the property of W. W. E. Wynne of Peniarth, Esq.: it contains the oldest version extant of much of the poetry commonly assigned to the 6th century. As to the language of this poetry, it is certainly not much older, if at all, than the manuscript containing it. I have said the language, for the matter may be centuries older, if we may suppose each writer or rehearser to have adapted the form of the words, as far as concerns the reduction of the mutable consonants, to the habits of his own time, which one might well have done unintentionally, and so, perhaps,

without the matter being much tampered with. For the details of this question I would refer you to the fourteen introductory chapters in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*: suffice it here to say, that the poems ascribed to the Cynfeirdd or early bards belong, as far as concerns us now, to the Mediæval period of Welsh, though the metre, the allusions, and the archaisms, which some of them contain, tend to show that they date, in some form or other, from the 9th century, if not earlier.

So far we have at our service abundance of literature for all philological purposes; but when we pass the threshold of the 12th century, the case is no longer so, our only materials for the study of Old Welsh being inscriptions and glosses, together with a few other scraps in Latin manuscripts. The inscriptions here alluded to are the later ones, written in characters which archæologists call Hiberno-Saxon. As to the manuscript portion of the materials, when a Welshman reading a Latin author met a word he did not understand, he ascertained its meaning, and wrote its Welsh equivalent above it, between the lines, or in the margin: so our Welsh glosses were produced. We have, besides, fragments of charters and scraps of poetry filling up spaces which happened to be blank in the original manuscripts.

Most of them are in Oxford and Cambridge, and one in Lichfield. Their dates are ascertained for us by experts, and it is to the 9th century that they now assign the oldest collection. Altogether they are far under a thousand words and contain few complete sentences: so, while they leave us considerably in the dark as to the syntax of the language, they enable us to ascertain what phonological and formal changes it has passed through since the 9th century. Among other things, we are placed in a position to watch the appearance and gradual spread in it of the more interesting consonantal mutations.

The next move backwards lands us in the Brit-Welsh period of the language, for the study of which we have, besides a few names in Gildas and other writers of the time, a pretty good number of epitaphs, but mostly written in Latin. This is unfortunate, as the Kymric names they contain have, in a great number of instances, their terminations Latinised. A few, however, are bilingual, consisting of a Latin version in more or less debased Roman capitals, interspersed occasionally towards the close of the period with minuscules, and of an Early Welsh version in Ogam. Several of them will be noticed as we go on; and I now submit to you a list [this will be found in an Appendix at the end of the volume] of them, con-

taining all those which have not been reduced to mere fragments of no special interest, or rendered illegible by centuries of exposure.

As we pass back from the Brit-Welsh period to the time of the Roman occupation, our data become still more meagre. They consist (1) of a few proper names which have been identified in Ptolemy's Geography, the Itinerary of Antoninus, Tacitus' *Agricola*, and other writings of that time, and (2) inscriptions scattered up and down the country occupied by our ancestors. The number of Celtic names in these last is very considerable, but we cannot be sure that they are in all instances Kymric; however, we may assume some of them to be so if they are found at Caerleon (that is, the *Isca Silurum* of the ancients), at York, and other places in the North. They are mostly epitaphs written in Latin, and beginning with the usual Roman dedication to the *Di Manes*, but some are votive tablets to local gods. Any one who has an eye for Celtic names can pick them out at his leisure in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, published not long ago in Berlin, under the superintendence of Professor Hübner: the seventh volume is devoted to those of Great Britain.

And now that we have thus rapidly scanned the past of our language so far back as any the slightest assistance is rendered us by ancient

authors and contemporary monuments, you may ask, What about the question of identity propounded at the beginning of the lecture? As far as concerns Modern and Mediæval Welsh, or Mediæval and Old Welsh, there can be no question at all, and we need not hesitate to assume the identity of the Welsh language of the 9th century with that of the 19th; that is to say, the former has grown to be the latter. Nor is there any occasion at present to prove its identity in the 1st and 6th century, though, it must be admitted, that would, owing to the scantiness of our data, be only less difficult than to establish the negative. At any rate, we may wait until the latter has found an advocate; for it is not just at this point that the chain of continuity has been suspected: the links that are now and then challenged occur between the 6th and 9th centuries, and it is to them that our attention must now be directed.

Here precedence may be granted to the difficulty of those writers who fail to see how a language once possessed of a system of cases could get to lose them and appear in the state in which we find the Old Welsh of the 9th century, which hardly differed in this respect from the Welsh of our day. These may be dismissed with the question, What has become of the cases of Latin in the languages of the Romance nations of modern times, such as

Italian, French, and Spanish, or how many of the five or six cases formerly in use in English are current in Modern English?

Then there are those who will have it, that Welsh can never have had cases, because it is, as they imagine, nearly related to, or immediately derived from Hebrew, which also has no cases. Neither do literary ostriches of this class deserve to be reasoned with, at any rate until they have taken their heads out of the sand and acquainted themselves with the history of the philological world since the publication of Bopp's Comparative Grammar. As matters stand, it would in all probability be useless to tell them that Welsh has nothing to do with Hebrew or any other Semitic tongue. It is, however, not a little satisfactory to read, from time to time, in the English papers, that this Hebrew nightmare, which has heavily lain, some time or other, on almost every language in Europe, seems to be fast transforming itself into a kind of spirit of search impelling gentlemen of a certain idiosyncrasy to turn their thoughts to the discovery of the Lost Ten Tribes of Israel.

Not to dwell on the fact that Semitic scholars are satisfied that Hebrew itself once had cases, or, rather, that it never lost them altogether, it may be interesting to notice that even the Welsh we speak may be made to yield us evidence of the use

of a system of cases in the language during the earlier periods of its history. But before we proceed to this we may for a moment consider what traces of the cases of Latin remain in the Welsh words which our ancestors borrowed from that language. Well, if you look through a list of these loan-words, which amount in all to no less than 500 Latin vocables, you will find that some show traces of the Latin nominative, as for instance, *bendith*, 'a blessing,' *ffwrn*, 'an oven,' *pabell*, 'a tent,' from *benedictio*, *fornax*, *papilio*, respectively, while others are supposed to be derived from accusatives, such as *cardod*, 'alms, charity,' *civ-dod*, 'a tribe,' *pont*, 'a bridge,' from *caritatem*, *civitatem*, and *pontem*: compare *Iorddonen*, 'Jordan,' and *Moesen*, 'Moses,' from *Ἰορδάνην* and *Μωυσῆν*. Lastly, it may be left undecided whether *tymp*, 'a woman's time to be confined,' comes from *tempus* nominative or *tempus* accusative, and so of *corff*, 'a body,' from *corpus*, but *tymmhôr*, 'a season,' must have come from *temporis*, *tempori*, or *tempore*, and so of the *corffor* in *corffori*, 'to incorporate,' and in *corfforoedd*, an obsolete plural of *corff*, for which we now use *cyrff*. Now, have we any such traces in Welsh words of Welsh origin? No doubt we have; and they are to be detected by comparison with other languages, especially Irish. The following are found to be nominatives:—

bru, 'womb : ' compare O. Ir. nom. *brú*, gen. *brond*.

car, 'a friend : ' compare O. Ir. nom. *cara*, gen. *carat*.

ci, 'a dog : ' compare O. Ir. nom. *cú*, gen. *con*.

gof, 'a smith : ' compare O. Ir. nom. *goba*, gen. *goband*.

llyg, 'a field-mouse : ' compare O. Ir. nom. *luch*, gen. *lochad*.

tan, 'fire : ' compare O. Ir. nom. *tene*, gen. *tened*.

In other instances the comparison shows us that the Welsh forms are not nominatives, but probably accusatives, as in the following, pointed out to me by Mr. Stokes :—

bon (in *henfon*), 'a cow : ' compare O. Ir. accus. *boin*, nom. *bó*.

breuan, 'a handmill : ' compare O. Ir. accus. *bróinn-n*, nom. *bróo*, equated by Mr. Stokes with the Sanskrit *grávan*, the Rigveda word for the stone used in squeezing out the soma juice.

breuant, 'the windpipe : ' compare O. Ir. accus. *bráigait-n*, nom. *bráge*.

dermydd, 'a druid : ' compare O. Ir. accus. *druid-n*, nom. *druí* (*drym* would seem to be the Welsh nominative).

emin, 'a nail of the hand or foot:' compare O. Ir.

accus. *ingin-n*, nom. *inge*.

gorsin, 'a door-post:' compare O. Ir. accus.

ursain-n, nom. *ursa*.

Iwerddon, 'Ireland:' compare O. Ir. accus.

Hérenn, nom. *Hériu*.

mis, 'month:' compare O. Ir. accus. *mis-n*, nom.

mí.

pridd, 'earth, soil:' compare O. Ir. accus. *creid-n*,

nom. *cré*.

X X

Add to these the word *nos*, 'night,' a nominative for *nots* = *noct-s*: compare Latin *nox*, gen. *noctis*. If Welsh had a case with the stem *noct* as in Latin *noctis*, *noctem*, *nocti*, it would have to become *noeth* in Welsh, and this actually occurs in *trannoeth*, 'the following day,' literally 'over-night,' and in *trannoeth* the word *noeth* must be an accusative, which is the case *tra* governed, as may be learned from the fact that its Irish counterpart *tar* always governs that case. *Beunoeth*, 'every night,' is also an accusative, and so probably is the O. Welsh form *henoith* (written *henoid* in the Juvenius Codex), superseded later by *heno* 'to-night,' which seems to be a shortened form of *he-nos*.^X compare *he-ddym*, 'to-day.'

X

So far of nominatives and accusatives: as to the other cases, it is exceedingly hard to distin-

guish them from accusatives or from one another now that their distinctive endings have been discarded. We have, however, undoubted genitives in *ei*, 'his,' *ei*, 'her,' and *eu* 'their,' which have already been mentioned. The dative next: years ago attention was called by Mr. Norris to the *pyn* in *er-byn*, 'against,' as the dative of *pen*, 'head.' Now *erbyn* is in Irish letter for letter *archiunn*, composed of the preposition *ar* and *ciunn*, the dative of *cenn*, 'head:' the latter is, however, separable, admitting pronouns between the preposition and the noun, as in *armochiunn* "ante faciem meam, coram me;" and so the O. Cornish *er y byn* would suggest that in Welsh also one might at one time say *er ei byn*, where we now have to say *yn ei erbyn*, or *i'n erbyn*, 'against him, to meet him.' Mr. Stokes has pointed out another similar dative in O. Cornish in such a phrase as *war y lyrgh* (= Welsh *ar ei ol*), 'after him:' the nominative is *lergh*. Lastly, we have one certain instance of an ablative, namely, that of *prwy*, 'who,' in the particle *po*, of the same origin as Latin *quo*. You will notice also that the same use is made of them in both languages in such sentences as *Po anharoddaf y gwaith, mwyaf y clod o'i gyflawni*, "quo difficilius, hoc præclarus."

Now that we are hurriedly picking up, as it were, a few fragments of the time-wrought wreck

of our inflections, you may expect a word about the Welsh genders. I need not prove that Welsh once had three genders, that is, not only the masculine and the feminine, but also a neuter, of which we have a familiar relic in the demonstrative *hyn*, as in *hyn o ddysc*, 'this much learning,' *hyn o win*, 'this much wine:' add to this the O. Welsh *pad* = Lat. *quod*, *quid*. But more interest attaches to the feminine: put together, for instance, *merch*, 'a daughter,' and *tlws*, 'pretty,' and they have to become *merch dlos*, 'a pretty daughter.' Now, why is the *t* of the adjective reduced into *d*? Well, if you remember what was said on another occasion, it can only be because *merch* once ended in a vowel, and I hardly need state that that vowel was probably *a* or *ā*. Thus *merch dlos* represents an earlier *merca tlos* or rather *merca tlossa*, for the *a* of the adjective is even more certain than that of the noun, seeing that it is to the influence of that *a* on the *timbre* or quality of the vowel in the preceding syllable we owe our having still two forms of the adjective, *tlws* in the masculine and *tlos* in the feminine. *Tlws* and *tlos* belong to a class of adjectives, already noticed, which conform to the same rules, and you may take the pair *llym*, mas. *llem*, fem. 'sharp,' as typical of another, and as supplying us with the principle which guides us in distin-

guishing the gender of monosyllabic nouns : thus if you propose to a monoglot Welshman any monosyllabic nouns with which he is not familiar, he will treat those with *w* or *y* as masculines and those with *o* or *e* as feminines, and in so doing he thinks he is guided by instinct. This is probably not the only habit of later growth which has been mistaken for instinct ; and if you wish to find the key to it, you have to trace it back in the language to a time when the latter was on a level, so to say, with Latin and Greek as regards the inflection of its substantives, while the origin of the same habit must be sought thousands of years earlier, when neither Celt nor Teuton, Greek nor Roman, had as yet wandered westward from the cradle of the Aryan race in the East.

Perhaps it is even more surprising to find in later Welsh traces of the dual number, seeing that the very oldest specimens of its inflections which the Aryan languages afford us look weather-worn and ready to disappear. But to give you an instance or two in Welsh : we meet in the *Mabinogi* of *Branwen Verch Llyr* with *deu rydel uonllwm*, that is, in our orthography, *dau Wyddel fonllwm*, 'two unshod Irishmen' (Guest's *Mabinogion*, iii. p. 98). Now in the singular we should have *Gryddel bonllwm*, and in the plural *Gryddyl bonllymion* ; so it may be asked how it is that we have

bonllwm made in our instance into *fonllwm*. There is only one answer: *Gwyddel* must in the dual have once ended in a vowel, and a glance at other related languages which have the dual, such as O. Irish, Greek, and Sanskrit, would make it probable that the vowel in question must have been the ending of the nominative or accusative dual; but instead of guessing which the vowel or vowels were in which the dual ended in Early Welsh, perhaps the best thing would be to ask you to take a look at that number in Greek in which our instance might be literally rendered: δύο ἀντροδῆτω Γοῖδελε. Instances are not very rare in Mediæval Welsh, but I will only mention one or two more: in the Mabinogi of *Iarlles y Ffynnarwn* we meet with *deu was penngrych wineu deledwix*, “two youths with beautiful curly hair” (Guest’s *Mab.*, i. p. 35). A still more interesting instance occurs in William’s “*Seint Greal*,” p. 91, where we read of *deu deirw burwynnyon*, ‘two pure-white bulls.’ In Modern Welsh there is one instance which is well worth mentioning. The Carnarvonshire heights, called by English tourists “The Rivals,” have, from the Carnarvon side, the appearance of three peaks forming two angles or forks between them: hence their Welsh name is *Yr Eifl*, which has been supposed to be plural; but were it so, it would be, not *Yr Eifl*, but *Y Geifl* or

Y Gaflau, the singular being *gafl*, 'the fork.' So *Yr Eifl* means, I cannot help believing, the two forks, and might be rendered into Greek *Τῶ Ἀγκῆ*, but that we should thereby lose the connotation of the Welsh name, which in this instance, as in so many other Celtic place-names, turns mainly on a metaphorical reference to the configuration of the human body.

Interesting as the foregoing instances may be to us, as persons whose language is the Welsh, you must not suppose that they enhance materially the certainty with which glottologists regard the former inflections of Welsh substantives; for they are satisfied that Welsh is near of kin to Irish, and that Irish had the inflections in question, not developed in the course of its own history, but inherited from of old from an older language which was the common mother of Irish and Welsh. The discovery in Welsh of a few such remains as have just been pointed out, they would have thought not improbable beforehand, but supposing, on the other hand, that that did not occur in a single instance, they would not have felt in the least dismayed. Where, then, seeing that Welsh still shows traces of at least five cases, three genders, and three ~~members~~ members, does the improbability lie of its having retained the endings indicative of some of them—say the nominative and genitive singular

masculine—as late as the 7th century? Nowhere, it seems to me. But as the transition of a language from the inflectional to the positional stage is an important one, which could not help registering itself in its literature, let us turn our attention for a moment to this point. For our purpose the difference between an inflectional and a positional construction admits of easy illustration. In Latin there is no material difference of meaning between *rex Romæ* and *Romæ rex*, that is, if we put *N.* for nominative, and *G.* for genitive, both sequences, *N. G.* and *G. N.* are admissible in that language, while in Welsh we have to be contented with *N. G.* only, and say *brenhin Rhufain*, as *Rhufain brenhin* would not convey the same meaning. Probably, however, when Welsh had case-endings, it could have recourse to both *N. G.* and *G. N.*; but when the former were discarded one of the latter had to be given up—that turned out to be *G. N.* But the sequence *N. G.* could not have beaten the other off the field in a day, and we have to ascertain if any survivals of *G. N.* occur in the Welsh literature which has come down to our time. A perusal of the poems attributed to the early bards would convince you that such do occur: I will only quote (in modern orthography) a few at random from Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*:—*cenedl noddod*, “the nation's refuge”

(ii. p. 7); *huan heolydd arfaidd*, "bold as the sun in his courses" (ii. p. 20); *Cymmerau trin*, "the conflict of Cymmerau" (ii. p. 24); *rhiaid gared*, "delight of females" (ii. p. 93); and "Gorchan Cynfelyn *cylchwy nylad*," "Gorchan Cynfelyn, to make the region weep" (ii. p. 96). Now, with such survivals as these and others of a different nature, which could be pointed out in the poems alluded to, before our eyes, the conclusion would seem natural that Welsh may well have retained case-endings in common use as late as the 7th century. On the other hand, it has, it is true, been argued that the original composition of the poems in question took place long before the 12th century. But what concerns us here is the fact that the evidence they give us, taken for what it is worth, affords a presumption that one is right in supposing case-endings to have been in use in our language as late as the 7th century; and the outcome of all this is, that thus far we have not met with any *prima facie* reason whatever for thinking that the old Celtic monuments still existing in Wales were not intended to commemorate persons who spoke our language, or a language which has, by insensible degrees, grown to be that which we speak.

Now we move on to meet those who claim some of our inscriptions as belonging, not to the Welsh,

but to the Irish. You will find their views advocated, though not without eliciting opposition, by some of the writers who contribute to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. It is by no means irrelevant to our case that you should know that they are men whose study is archæology rather than the Celtic languages. For though the belief in the Irish origin of inscriptions found here may have originated in the discovery that some of them are written in Ogam, a character once supposed to be exclusively Irish, it now rests mainly on other arguments, which can have no weight in the eyes of any one who has enjoyed the advantage of a glottological training. Thus, whenever an early inscribed stone is discovered here bearing a name which happens to be known to Irish annalists, it is at once assumed that the inscription containing it is of Irish origin. But this, it requires no very profound knowledge of the Celtic languages to perceive, is perfectly unwarrantable. For as Welsh and Irish are kindred tongues, and as their vocabularies of proper names of persons must, at one time, have been identical, the occurrence of the same Celtic names in Wales and Ireland is just what one is entitled beforehand to expect. Neither, supposing a name, to put the case still stronger, forming part of an early inscription in Wales not to be traceable in later Welsh, while it happens to occur in

Irish books, can the inscription be claimed as Irish: besides, it would warrant our advancing similar claims. For instance, we might say, If our stones with the name *Decetti* on them are Irish because we have not as yet succeeded in tracing it in Welsh books, whereas it is thought to be detected in Irish ones, then on precisely the same grounds we claim the Irish stone bearing the name *Cunacena* until the latter can be shown to occur in later Irish, as we have it in the successive forms *Cunacenni*, *Concenn*, *Cincenn*, and *Kyngen*, this side of St. George's Channel.^X The one claim is as good as the other, and neither deserves a hearing; for the question as to which Celtic names have survived in Wales and in Ireland respectively belongs to the chapter of accidents, and the wonder, perhaps, is that the instances are so numerous as they are of the same ones having come down to the Middle Ages or to modern times in both countries.

If you were to press the advocates of the Irish claim for their reasons, the answer would be of the following type, which I copy from the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1873, page 286: "Were I to find on the shores of Wexford or Waterford a sepulchral inscription to *Griffith ap Owen*, I should be fully as justified in claiming it to be Irish as Mr. Rhys is in claiming *Maccui Decetti* [*sic*] to

be Welsh." This is *à propos* of an Anglesey inscription reading: *Hic Iacit Maccu Decceti*. Now this involves the fallacy of assuming that the difference between Welsh and Irish has always been so great as it is in modern times. If there is anything I have especially endeavoured to impress on your minds in the previous lectures, it is the fact that the further back we trace the two languages, the more strongly are they found to resemble one another. There is one word in particular which Irish archæologists, with a turn for what may not inappropriately be termed simple inspection, have made a great deal of—I mean the word *maqvi*, the genitive of the word for *son*. This, it is said, is the Irish *macc* or *mac*, 'a son,' genitive *maicc* or *maic*, and it is held to settle the question. The truth, however, is that it contributes nothing at all to the settling of it; for, as all Celtists know, the Kymric languages systematically change *qv* into *p*, so that the O. Welsh *map*, now *mab*, 'a son,' is as regularly derived in Welsh from *maqvi* as *mac* is in Irish. What would have been to the point would be to prove that the Kymric change of *qv* into *p* was obsolete before the period of the inscriptions whose origin is in question. This the writers whose views we are discussing would, I feel confident, find to be an impossible task to perform, and the attempt

would, moreover, be likely to take them out of the beaten path of simple inspection, one of the most recent outcomes of which may here be mentioned, as it will answer the purpose of a *reductio ad absurdum* of this way of appreciating old epitaphs. In the churchyard at Llanfihangel y Traethau, between Harlech and Portmadoc, there is a stone bearing an inscription apparently of the 12th century: one line of it reads *Wleder matris Odeleu*, whence we find elicited *totus, teres atque rotundus*, the full-grown Irish name *Dermot O'Daly*: this, you will be surprised to learn, was not meant as a joke—see the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1874, page 335.

Though the reasoning which seems to have led to the conclusion that our early inscriptions are Irish will not for one moment bear examination, that conclusion may, nevertheless, be the only one warranted by the facts of the case; hence it is clear that we must not dismiss it until we have considered how it deals with them. Well, the first thing that strikes one here is the arbitrariness of a theory which, from a number of inscriptions, would select some as being Irish without predicating anything of the remaining ones, or assigning the principle on which the selection is made. You might perhaps expect that those written in Ogam would be the only ones claimed as Irish,

and at one time it was so ; but eventually it was found convenient to cross that line ; and no wonder, for, as you must have noticed, there is no essential difference between those partly written in Ogam and those written in Roman letters exclusively. So Welsh antiquaries could hardly have been taken by surprise by a sweeping statement of the Irish claim, such as we meet with in the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1873, p. 285, in respect of the names *Vinnemagli* and *Senemagli* in a Denbighshire inscription. There we read, "Both of the names in question are Irish, as are most, if not all, the names found on those monuments hitherto known as Romano-British." This you will keep in mind as a concession on the part of our Irish friends of the fact that the names in our inscriptions are of a class, and do not readily admit of being separated into such as are Irish and such as are not.

Then, by supposing some of the epitaphs to be commemorative of Irish pagans of a very early date, they involve themselves in difficulties as to the crosses to be frequently met with on them. This, however, may be a mere instance of chronological extravagance not essential to the theory, but it would not be so easy to take that view of an assumption to which few would be found to demur, namely, that the pagan Irish did not use

the Roman alphabet. We observe, therefore, with some curiosity how they extricate themselves from the difficulty arising from the fact that almost all our inscriptions are partly or wholly in Roman letters. As to those which are exclusively in the latter, the oracles have not yet spoken; at any rate, I cannot find their utterances. But in the case of stones bearing inscriptions in both characters, if the one is not a translation of the other, then the Roman one owes its presence on it to a Romanised Briton having seized on the monument of a Gael to serve his own purposes, there being, it would seem, a great scarcity of rude and undressed stones in those days. If, on the other hand, the one merely renders the other, the explanation offered is somewhat different. The following, which I copy from the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1869, p. 159, relates to the bilingual stone at St. Dogmaels, near Cardigan, reading *Sagrami Fili Cunotami*, and in Ogam *Sagramni Maqvi Cunatami*:—"The story of the stone looks like this; that it was erected as a memorial over some well-known chief of the invading Gaedhal, who for a long period occupied South Wales, and that at some period after, when the language of the Gaedhal, and the use of Ogham were dying out, some patriotic descendant of the hero, to perpetuate the memorial, re-cut the inscription in the Roman characters then

in use; the monument is of great antiquity, the Roman inscription alone, on the authority of Mr. Westwood, being referable to a date 'not long after the departure of the Romans.'” *Ab uno disce omnes.* A still greater difficulty presents itself in the frequent occurrence on the stones in question of names which to most men would seem to be Latin, while it is, on the other hand, acknowledged that the Goidelic race was never conquered by the Romans, and that they would otherwise have been too proud, as we are told, to adopt Roman names. How this difficulty is disposed of as a whole I do not know. However, I find that *Turpilli* and *Victor* are made out to be pure Irish; but whether the same fate awaits such names as *Justi*, *Paternini*, *Paulini*, *Vitaliani*, and the like, remains to be seen; for the possibilities of O'Reilly's dictionary of Modern Irish are many. Unfortunately, such is the reputation that work enjoys, and such are the discoveries to which it helps men ignorant of Old Irish, that an appeal to it on their part has the charm of the last straw that broke the camel's back.

The foregoing are a few of the difficulties attending the claim made to our inscriptions. Now, I would call your attention to particular instances of them, which cannot, I think, be Irish:—

(1.) We will begin with a stone at Penmachno,

in Carnarvonshire, which reads: *Cantiori Hic Jacit Venedotis Cive Fuit Consobrino Magli Magistrati*. Despite the waywardness of the Latin, it undoubtedly shows that the person commemorated was a man of importance, and a Venedotian citizen, whatever that may exactly mean. The Venedotians are not generally supposed to be of the Goidelic race, and, as they are not likely to have made a foreigner a citizen of their state, the conclusion is unavoidable that the inscription is not of Irish origin. It is much in the same way that one may look at another which reads: *Corbalengi Jacit Ordous*. The stone stands on an eminence overlooking the Cardigan Bay, between the convenient landing-places of Aberporth and Traethsaith, in Cardigan-shire; but I am inclined to think that *Ordous* means that the person buried there was one of the Ordovices of North Wales. If so, whether he came there as an invader or as an ally, the position of the stone, which seems to occupy its original site, explains why it was thought expedient to specify his tribe on his monument. So this also could not well be Irish.

(2.) The inscription at Llangadwaladr, not far from Aberffraw in Anglesey, reads *Catamanus Rex Sapientissimus Opinatisimus Omnium Regum*. It is right to state that it is not in Roman capitals, but in what may be called early

Hiberno-Saxon characters, and that it is ascribed by archæologists to the 7th century. There are, however, other reasons for ranging it with those of the Brit-Welsh, rather than with later ones. It is probable that this Catamanus was the Catman or Cadfan whom Welsh tradition mentions as the father of Cadwallon and the grandfather of Cadwaladr, who is usually called the last king of the Britons; Cadwallon died, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, in the year 631, and the year 616 has been given by some Welsh writers as the date of Cadfan's death. However that may be, we are pretty safe in assigning it to the 7th century, and the inscription commemorative of him dates, probably, not long after his death. Whether Catamanus and his name are likely to be claimed as Irish I do not know, but the latter undoubtedly bears a family likeness to several of those contained in our early inscriptions so claimed. The same likeness is also observable in the names of the kings of the Britons to whom Gildas, writing not later than the middle of the 6th century, undertook to give a good scolding. They are the following, all except the first in the vocative:—*Constantinus* (king of Damnonia), *Aureli*, *Vortipori* (king of the Dime-tians), *Cuneglase* (rendered by Gildas into Latin as *Lanio fulve*), and *Maglocune*, supposed to be

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Maelgwn, the king of Gwynedd, who, according to the *Annales Cambriæ*, died in the year 547. Now these, as well as Catamanus, must be surrendered as Irish, if our early inscriptions are rightly claimed as such.

(3.) An instance, which has already supplied us with a name of interest, occurs on a stone near Whitland, Carmarthenshire, which reads *Qvenvendani Fili Barcuni*. Now in Irish genealogies one finds the name *Qvenvendani* matched most exactly by a *Cenffinnan*, to which a parallel is offered in the *Four Masters' Annals of Ireland* in a name *Ceandubhan*. These would be, in Mod. Welsh, *Penwynnan* and *Pendduan*, but as far as I know they do not occur. However *Penwynnan* has its analogy in *Carnwennan*, 'Arthur's dagger;' but *Cenffinnan* is a derivative from a still more common Irish name, *Cenfinn*, which would be in Welsh *Penmyn*, 'Whitehead:' it occurs more than once in the *Record of Carnarvon*, and we read of a *Iorwerth Tero ap. y Penmyn* in Edward the Third's time (*Arch. Cam.* 1846, p. 397). The portion of our *Qvenvendani* (shortened probably from *Qvennavendani*) represented by *Penmyn* and *Cenfinn* is *Qvenvend-*, which accordingly contains curtailed forms of the words for *head* and *white*, that is, *qven-* and *vend-*. The modern forms are, Welsh *pen*, Ir. *ceann*, 'head,' and Welsh *gwyn*,

‘white,’ feminine *gwen*, Ir. *finn*. You will here notice the change of *i* into *e* before a complex of consonants in the Welsh *vend*-. The *i* would remain in Irish, as we see from *finn* and Ptolemy’s *Βορουνδα*, that is *Buminda*, ‘the Boyne:’ so in the case of Gaulish names such as *Vindos* and *Vindomagus* (= Welsh *Gwynfa*, as in *Llanfhangell y Ngwynfa* in Montgomeryshire; Irish, *Finnmhagh*, ‘the white or fair field’). This makes it probable that not only *Qvenvendani* cannot be Irish, but also *Vendoni*, *Vendumagli*, *Vendubari*, and *Vendesetli* in other inscriptions. Still more decisive is the evidence of *Barcuni*, which, I have no doubt, is the same name as the Irish *Berchon* in *Ui-Berchon*, Anglicised into *Ibercon*, and meaning literally the descendants of *Bercon*; but it is now applied, as frequently happens to such names in Ireland, to a district in the county of Kilkenny. This information I derive from the entry for the year 851 in the *Annals of Ireland*. In a note the editor, O’Donovan, observes, that within the district alluded to there is a village known as Rosbercon, anciently called Ros-Ua-mBerchon. Now the Irish *Berchon* may be the genitive of *Berchú*, involving the word *cú*, ‘dog,’ genitive *con*. So the nominative corresponding to *Barcuni*, which itself stands probably for an older *Barcunis*, may have been *Barcū*. *Barcū* and *Barcuni* would now be in Welsh, if they

only occurred, *Berchi* and *Berchwn* respectively. If you compare with the Irish *Berchon* our *Barcuni* or *Berchwn*, you will observe that there is a phonological discrepancy between them; for *Berchwn* or *Barcuni* ought to be in Irish *Bercon*, and not *Berchon*. In other words, the Irish *Berchon* could not be derived from *Barcuni*, but from a longer form, *Baracuni*. Here, then, we have a difference between the two languages which makes itself perceptible elsewhere in such instances as Welsh *gorphen*, 'to finish,' for *worqvenn*, and Mod. Ir. *foircheann* (also Scotch Gaelic), 'end, conclusion,' for *woriquenn* or *woreqvenn*. This, you see, makes it highly improbable that *Barcuni* is Irish; hence it would follow that here we have an early inscription of Welsh origin, in which the place of later *p* is occupied by *qv*, which in the case of *maqvi* has been made so much of by Irish archæologists.

(4.) The next pair of instances bears on declension: the text is supplied in part by a stone at Trallong near Brecon—it reads *Cunocenni Filius Cunoceni Hic Jacit*. Here you see that as we have a nominative *Cunocenni* and a genitive *Cunocenni* (for we may venture to supply the omitted *n*), the name must be one the stem of which may be regarded as ending in *i*. Now glottology teaches us that in the common mother-

tongue of the Aryan nations *I*-stems ended in the nominative in *-is*, and in the genitive in *-ajas*. The latter was variously contracted in the various languages derived from it: thus Sanskrit nom. *avis*, 'a sheep,' gen. *avēs* or *avyās*, Greek πόλις, gen. πόλιος or πόλεως, Lithuanian *akis*, 'eye,' gen. *akės*. In very early Welsh and Irish, or in the language from which both have branched, we may suppose the ending of the genitive of this declension to have been *jas* (with *j = y* in *yes*), but not perhaps to the exclusion of the longer *-ajas*. The names, then, in our inscription may be restored thus: nom. *Cunacennīs*, gen. *Cunacennjas*, of which the latter seems to have undergone contraction into *Cunacennīs*; so that when the language began to drop final *s*, they became nom. *Cunacennī* and gen. *Cunacennī*, a distinction which may not have been lost at the time when the inscription was cut on the Trallong stone. Let us now turn to the other side, and see what would become in Irish of a Goidelo-Kymric genitive of the form *Cunacennjas*. Clearly, if we are to be guided by the ordinary rules of Irish phonology, the *j* would disappear, which would give us *Cunacennas*, and when the *s* followed the example of the *j*, the word would be found reduced to *Cunacenna*, which actually occurs written *Cunacena* on an Ogam-inscribed stone found at Dunloe,

in the county of Kerry. It is, however, right that I should tell you, that in some of the earliest Irish inscriptions both the *s* and the *j* (written *i*) appear intact; for instance, on a stone found at Ballycrovane, in the county of Cork, reading *Maqvi Decceddas Anvi Toranias*—the word *anvi* means *grandson*, and becomes in Old Irish manuscripts *due*, or, with an inorganic *h*, *háue*. Lest you should think that all this has been excogitated to suit my views, those of you who read German—and I hope that by and by their number will be considerable—will find that Ebel and Stokes inferred genitives of this declension in *-ajas* and *jas* for Early Irish in the first volume of Kuhn's *Beiträge*, published in 1854, and that, most likely, without having heard of the inscription alluded to above.

(5.) If it should seem to you that too much is here built on a single word, there remains one or two other instances which cannot be passed over. On the Anglesey stone already noticed we meet with *Maccudecceti*, which one might venture to write *Maccu-decceti*, as forming one name, although consisting probably of a noun governed in the genitive by another. Compare also *Maccodecheti*, on a stone now at Tavistock, in Devonshire. That *Decceti* and *Decheti* are in the genitive is certain, but our Welsh data could not enable us to ascer-

tain the declension to which they belong ; so we have to resort to Irish inscriptions in which the name in question occurs. The following are reported : *Maqvi Decceddās Awi Toranias*, already mentioned ; *Maqqvi Decedda*, found in the parish of Minard, co. Kerry, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy in Dublin ; *Maqvi Decceda Hadniconas*, found at Ballintaggart, with six others ; *Maqviddeceda Maqvi Marin*, found at Killeen Cormac. Now Welsh *Decceti* and Irish *Deccedas* taken together prove that we have here to do with an *I*-stem ; so the genitives may be restored to the forms—Welsh *Deccetjas*, Irish *Decceddjas* or *Deccedjas*, for Irish seems to have hesitated between the protracted *ddj* or *dj* and the non-protracted *dj*. The forms which occur in the two languages give us the three stages *Deccedjas*, *Deccedjas*, and *Deccetjas*, which require some notice before we proceed further. In Welsh I know of no closer parallel to *tj* for *dj* than that of *lj* (mostly reduced to *ll*) in such words as *arall*, ‘other,’ Ir. *araile*, from a stem *ar-alj-*, to be compared with Latin *alius* ; *oll*, ‘all,’ Ir. *uile*, from *olj-* ; *pebyll*, ‘a tent,’ now ‘tents,’ from Lat. *papilio*, ‘a butterfly, a tent :’ to these may perhaps be added an instance from one of our early inscriptions, namely, *Turpilli*, on a stone near Crickhowel in Brecknockshire. This, no doubt,

stands for an earlier *Turpilji*, once the pronunciation, Welsh or Roman, or both, of *Turpili*, the genitive of the Roman name *Turpilius*: compare also *filli* for *fili* or rather *filji*. The provection would lead to the inference that *Decceti* was accented *Deccéti*, whence it is clear that *Vitaliani* on another stone need not have followed suit. In point of fact, it seems to have become *Guitoliaun*, which occurs in a MS. of Nennius, where we read of *Guitaul fili Guitoliaun*, as though it had been *Vitalis fili Vitaliani*. As to the Irish provection into *dd*, we find a good parallel to it in the *U*-declension, which is thought to have once ended in the nom. in *-us*, and in the gen. in *-awas* or *-nas*. Thus Mr. Stokes, in the volume just referred to of Kuhn's *Beiträge*, p. 450, traces two Irish genitives, *tairmchrutto*, "transformationis," and *crochta*, "crucifixionis," to *tarmicrutvas* and *crucatvas* respectively: compare also such genitives as *Lugudeccas*, *Rettias*, *Anamlamattias*, said to occur on early inscribed stones in Ireland. What has been hinted as to the phonology of *Decceti* is a mere conjecture, to which I would add another, and, perhaps, a better—namely, that the Welsh and the Irish forms, taken together, may be regarded as pointing to the still earlier ones *Dencendis*, genitive *Dencendjas*. In case this hits the mark, the word is to be referred to a root *dak* or *dank*, ✕

whence we have Greek *δείκνυμι*, Lat. *dicere*, German *zeigen*. But, not to take up any more of your time with these details, the outcome of them, as far as we are here concerned, is that *Cunocenni*, *Decceci*, and *Decheci* are Welsh, while the Irish forms are *Cunacena*, *Deceddas*, and the like. Consequently the inscriptions in which the former occur cannot be Irish. We are now enabled to return with greater certainty to *Corbalengi*, which being a nominative, is likely to be of the *I*-declension. Hence it would also follow that *Evolengi* and *Evolengi* are of that declension, which cannot in Irish make *i* in the genitive, as these do; so it is unnecessary to say that the inscriptions containing them cannot be Irish. The same observations would seem to apply to those in which the names *Vinnemagli*, *Senemagli*, or *Senomagli*, occur in the genitive; for that these forms belong to the *I*-declension is suggested by the fact that we have *Brohomagli* in the nominative in an inscription reading *Brohomagli Jam Ic Jacit Et Uxor Ejus Caune*. Add to the foregoing, that although the Early Welsh base whence our *cad*, 'battle,' must have been *catu*, of the *U*-declension, we have the ~~compounds~~ *Ricati* nominative, and *Dunocati* genitive, while the Mod. Irish is *Donnchadh*, genitive *Donnchadha*; which makes it impossible that *Dunocati* could be Irish. This is

names;

the way I would reason, if I felt certain that the case-endings here in question are not mostly Latin rather than Celtic. The more I scrutinise them, the more I am inclined to treat them as Latin, especially such genitives as *Dunocati*, and such nominatives as *Corbagni* and *Cunnoceni*, for *Corbagnis* and *Cunocennis*. But it is to be noticed that this only makes our case against the Irish claim still stronger, and that one has only to regret that so many of the inscriptions are less valuable than could be wished as materials for the history of Welsh inflections. As the allusion to *Cunocenni*, *Corbagni*, and *Dunocati* as Latinised nominatives may appear scarcely intelligible to those who are acquainted only with the Latin ordinarily taught in our schools, it is right to explain, that from the time of the Gracchi or thereabouts the ending *is* appears not infrequently instead of *ius*; as, for instance, in *Anavis*, *Cæcilis*, *Clodis*, *Ragonis*, and the like. Further, it is a rule in our Early Inscriptions to leave out *s* final: the same thing frequently happened also in Roman ones, so that such nominatives occur in the latter as *Claudi*, *Minuci*, and *Valeri*. For more information on this point, see the second edition of Corssen's great work on Latin, i. pp. 289, 758; ii. p. 718; also Roby's Latin Grammar (London, 1871), i. p. 120.

(6.) Besides the numerous nominatives made to

end in our Early Inscriptions in the Latin termination *us*, and the possible Latinity of some or all of those in *i*, there is an instance or two where the former appears as *o* for the old Latin nominative ending *os*. One of these comes from Carnarvonshire, and reads: *Alhortus Eimetiaco Hic Jacet*. The other is at Cwin Gloyn, near Nevern in Pembrokeshire: it reads in Ogam *Witaliani*, and in Roman capitals *Vitaliani Emereto*, of which I can make nothing but nominatives, the Welsh having perhaps never stopped to consider whether there existed such a Latin name as *Vitalianius* to be transformed into *Vitaliani*. *Emereto* would be for *Emeretos*, or, as it would appear in our dictionaries, *emeritus*. Similarly we have *consobrino* for the fuller nominative *consobrinus* in the inscription already noticed as reading: *Cantiori Hic Jacit Venedotis Cive Fuit Consobrino Magli Magistrati*.

(7.) To the foregoing it should be added that feminines making their nominatives in *ē*, such as *Caune*, *Tuncetace*, and the like, are also probably indebted for that *ē* to the usage of somewhat late Latin, which, in its turn, is supposed to have borrowed it from Greek. In the Roman inscriptions of the time of the Empire the names of Greek slaves and freedwomen appear in abundance, such as *Agapomene*, *Euclie*, *Theophile*, and the like: after them were modelled *Cassiane*, *Juliane*,

Sabiniane, written also with *ae* for *e*, whence even such genitives as *dominaes*, *vernaes*, *annonaes*, were formed. Nominatives of the kind in question were also not unknown in Roman Britain. I have come across the following in Hübner's collection already alluded to:—*Aurelia Eclectiane*, *Hermionae*, *Iavolena Monime*, *Julia Nundinae* (in the museum at Caerleon), and *Simplicia Proce*. On the question of Latin nominatives in *ē* and genitives in *ēs* or *aes*, see Corssen, i. p. 686, and Roby's Latin Grammar, i. p. 121. It is hardly necessary to repeat that the Latinisation here pointed out is incompatible with the Irish claim as it has hitherto been put.

(8.) In Early Irish the *U*-declension made its genitive singular in *os*, liable to be reduced to *o*; and in the Early Irish inscriptions, of which accounts have been published, amounting to 120 or more, not a single genitive in *u* occurs, while those in *os*, *o*, appear in due proportion. In our inscriptions, on the other hand, the same genitive is either *o* or *u*. ✕ So far, then, as one can judge from this, our inscriptions containing the genitives *Nettasagru* and *Trenagusu* cannot be Irish.

(9.) *Maccu-Decceti* and *Macco-Decheti* have been mentioned together, and it may appear strange that one has *cc* and the other *ch*. The explanation is simple enough: in the interval between their dates the language may have begun to change *cc* into *ch*,

and probably also *tt*, *pp*, into *th*, *ph*. Here may be mentioned the inscription already cited as reading *Brohomagli Jam Ic Jacit Et Uxor Ejus Clune*, which is in much the same style of later letters as the Tavistock Stone with *Decheti*. There is an apparent inconsistency in *Macco*- retaining its *cc* unmodified; but the *cc* in *Macco*- represents an earlier *ng* or *ngh*, and it would be contrary to rule if it passed into *ch* in Welsh. In *Brohomagli* the *h* was undoubtedly sounded like our modern *ch*; for in O. Welsh the name was *Brochmail*, later *Brochuail*. The same remark applies to the *h* in the epitaph reading *Velvor Filia Broho*, which seems to be of the same date as the other two. In *Broho* and *Brohomagli* the syllable *broh*, that is *broch*, probably represents an earlier *brocc*, as in *Broccagni*, a name said to have been read on a stone at Capel Mair near Llandyssul, which has since been effaced by a bucolic Vandal. *Broccagni* is familiar in the form *Brychan*, and is precisely the Irish *Broccán* borne by the author of a hymn in praise of St. Brigit contained in the *Liber Hymnorum* in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. But how does this bear on our argument? Simply in this way: the change from *cc* into *ch* is unknown in Irish, whence it is impossible that the inscriptions containing *Decheti*, *Brohomagli*, and *Broho* should be of Irish origin.

X

Now that the Irish claim has been shown to be untenable, we might be asked to show how the details of the inscriptions, in so far as they are Celtic, fit into the history of Welsh inflections; but this is rendered an impossible task by the meagreness of our data. However, we have at least one inscription which seems to belong to the transition period preceding the total disuse of cases by the Welsh: I allude to one of the stones at Clydai, in Pembrokeshire, which reads in debased capitals *Etterni Fili Victor*, and in Ogam *EtternW[ic]tor*. Here *Victori* (for *Victoris*) is out of the question, but the discarding of the case termination was in this instance favoured by the fact that the nominative was *Victor*, while the genitive might be *Victór*. The inorganic doubling of *t* in *Etterni* is a feature common to it and the Old Welsh of the Capella Glosses. I cannot leave this point without noticing in a few words the fate of the vowel, more conveniently than correctly called the 'connecting vowel,' as, for instance, the *o* in *Dunocati*, which has been completely lost in its modern representative *Dinyad*, pronounced *Dirgad*. That the connecting vowel in compounds was sometimes obscurely pronounced even in Early Welsh is proved, as has already been pointed out, by such pairs of instances as *Cunotami* and *Cunatami*; but when did it altogether disappear? In

the last-named instances it cannot have done so until the *t* had begun to be softened towards *d*, otherwise we should have *Cunatam-i*, *Cuntam* yielding *Cynnhaf*, whereas the modern form is *Cyndaf*. Moreover, in a few instances, the number of which could no doubt be increased by careful reading, the vowel comes down in manuscript. The place known to Welsh tradition as Catraeth is called by Bede *Cataracta*; in the Juvenius Codex, the Latin word *frequens* is explained by the Old Welsh word *litimaur*, which, were it still in use, would now be *lloidfawr*, with *lloid-* as in *erlid*, 'to pursue,' and might be expected to have nearly the same meaning as *gosgorddfawr*, 'possessed of a large retinue or following:' in Gaulish it occurs as the proper name *Litumara* (Glück, p. 120). In the oldest MS. of the *Annales Cambriæ* we have not only *Guenedote* to compare with the later *Gwynndyd*, 'North Wales,' but also a mention, under the year 760, of *Dunnagual filii Teudubr*, more correctly *Dumnagual* or *Durnagual*. Later he is called *Dyfnwal*, a name which in Early Welsh would have been *Dumnwal-i* or *Dubnwal-i*. In the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1063, we meet with *Rhuddlan*, called *Rudelan*, a spelling which is supported by the Doomsday forms *Rothe-lanum*, and, with the soft dental slurred over,

a/ay

Ruelan. Lastly, Giraldus Cambrensis writes *Rudhelan*, *Bledhericus* (Bledri), *Rodhericus* (Rhodri), *Ytherval* (Idwal), *Landinegath* (Llandingad). I place no implicit faith in Giraldus' spelling, but it seems certain that the connecting vowel continued to be pronounced, however lightly, for a long time after the Welsh had given up the habit of representing it in writing, and that there can have been no break in this respect between the pronunciation of the Welsh of the Early Inscriptions and that of the 9th century glosses.

This is also the place to call attention to the fact that the ordinary formula of our Early Inscriptions, such as *Sagrani Fili Cunotami*, came down to later times. Thus, for instance, an elegy to Geraint, the son of Erbin; in which the Welsh poet, as an eye-witness, describes Geraint's deeds of valour in the battle of Llongborth, is headed *Gereint Fil Erbin* in the Black Book of Carmarthen as published by Skene, ii. p. 37. This Geraint is probably the Welsh king who, according to the Saxon Chronicle, fought against Ine of Wessex in the year 710.

Lastly, supposing, *per impossibile*, the foregoing reasoning to be inconclusive, we still have a weighty argument in the fact, for such it seems to be, that the Kymric race has occupied Wales, Cornwall, Devon, and other parts of England, from the time

of the Roman occupation to our own day, excepting in so far as their territory has been encroached upon by the English nation and language. It follows, then, that the *onus probandi* remains with the advocates of the Irish claim, and that they are not at liberty to attempt to prove any of our inscriptions to be of Irish origin until they have made out that the same cannot be explained as Welsh. Let it first be shown that they cannot be Welsh, then they will have a right to make them out to be Irish if they can, and, logically speaking, not before, as we have a priority of claim, which stands whether they attribute the inscriptions to Goidelic invaders, or regard them as proofs that the Goidelic race occupied this country before the Kymry. For, in either case, the knowledge of letters may be presumed to have reached the former, whether in Ireland or in the more inaccessible parts of the west of Britain, through the latter, who must have learned (if they had occasion for it) from the Romans how to honour their dead with inscribed tombstones. That the Kymry should have taught this to the Gaels and so far forgotten it themselves as to leave us no monuments, while the Gaels are alleged to have left so many, is incredible.

Allusion has just been made to a theory which not only makes the Goidelic race the first Celtic

inhabitants of Wales, but tries to prove their occupation of most of North Wales to have lasted down to the 4th or the 5th century. As it is supposed that the Irish claim to our inscriptions derives considerable support from this theory, it is necessary to examine it briefly before we have done with this question.

From what has been said on the classification of the Celts in a previous lecture, it is already clear that the Goidelic Celts cannot be said to have inhabited Wales before the Kymry, but it will, nevertheless, be desirable to ascertain what this theory has to recommend itself, especially as it is put forth on excellent authority. In the first place, it is founded, to a considerable extent, on Welsh traditions which are supposed to refer to the expulsion of Gaels from different parts of Wales in the 6th century; but the same traditions are admitted, be it noticed, to speak of them invariably as invaders. However, it derives most of its support from Welsh place-names, which are supposed to commemorate the sojourn of the Gael by their containing the word *Gmyddel*, 'an Irishman,' plural *Gmyddyl* or *Gmyddelod*: such are *Gmyddelwern*, *Llan y Gmyddel*, *Porth y Gmyddel*, *Tŷll y Gmyddel*, and the like. But it is not at all clear to me how any such names can go to prove the priority of the Gael over the Kymro in

Wales. For a certain number of the places concerned have surely received their names within this or the last century, particularly on the coast and wherever Irish workmen have been employed. A good many more, probably, of them date during the long interval between the last century and the end of the 12th. Then, if any of them date still earlier, they may possibly be accounted for by the various descents made on our coasts in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries by Irishmen or Irish Danes, and by the return of Welsh exiles, such as Gruffudd ab Cynan and Rhys ab Tewdwr, at the head of a following of Irishmen. If, perchance, any of them are older than the 10th century, it would be natural to trace them to Irish saints, Irish traders, and Irish invaders who visited this country; but none of these last or of the foregoing would help to prove that Wales was wrested by the Welsh from the Gael. Then there are other deductions to make from the list; for many, probably the majority, of the names adduced have nothing whatever to do with Irishmen, there being another word, *gwyddel*, plural *gwyddeli* (formerly, perhaps, also *gwyddyl*), which is a derivative from *gwydd*, 'wood.' The identity of form between it and the word for Irishman is only accidental, as the Early Welsh form of *gwyddel* must have begun with a *w* or *v*, while the initial of that

of *Gwyddel* was *g*, which is proved by the Old Irish Gaedel, Goidel, Modern Irish *Gaoidheal*, with a silent *dh*, which has led to the simplified spelling *Gael*. The common noun *gwyddel*, which is no longer in use, means a brake or bush, as in one of *Englynion y Clywed*, which runs thus (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 260):—

“A glywaist ti chwedl yr Enid
Yn y gwyddel rhag ymlid?
Drwg pechawd o'i hir erlid.”

In Dr. Pughe's dictionary, under the word *enid*, this is rendered: “Hast thou heard the saying of the woodlark in the brake avoiding pursuit?—bad is sin from long following it.” Under the word *gwyddelawg* he gives *tir gwyddelawg* as meaning “land overrun with brambles,” and he rightly renders *gwyddelwern* “a moor or meadow overgrown with bushes.” In the same way no doubt *Gwyddelfynydd* is to be explained. So in the bulk of instances like *Mynydd y Gwyddel*, *Gmaun y Gwyddel*, *Gwern Gwyddel*, *Nant y Gwyddel*, *Pant y Gwyddel*, *Toll y Gwyddel*, and the like, the word *gwyddel* may be surmised to have no reference to Irishmen. The outcome of this is, that after making the deductions here suggested from the list, there can be few, if any, of the names in question which could be alleged in support of an early occupation of Wales by the Gael. They would undoubtedly

fall far short of the number of those with *Sais*, 'an Englishman,' plural *Saeson*, such as *Rhyd y Sais*, *Pont y Saeson*, and the like, of which a friend has sent me a list of thirty instances: by a parity of reasoning, these ought to go some way to prove the English to have occupied Wales before our ancestors.

It is needless to repeat, that even were one to admit the Gaels to have been the early occupiers of this country, it would by no means follow that our inscriptions belong to them and not to the Welsh. On the other hand, as it cannot have been so, our priority of claim to them remains untouched. Lastly, it would not be exactly reasoning in a circle to call attention, in passing, to a fact which has an important bearing on the question of the classification of the Celtic nations, namely, that the controversy as to the origin of our inscriptions rests entirely on the close similarity between Early Welsh and Early Irish. Had they been less like one another, and had the primeval difference between them not been altogether imaginary, it could never have arisen.

So far nothing has been said of the pre-historic period mentioned in the scheme laid before you of the chronology of the Welsh language. What happened to it during that period can only be inferred, not to say guessed. It is, however, by no means probable that the

Celtic immigrants into these islands found them without inhabitants, or that they arrived in sufficient force to exterminate them. Consequently it may be supposed that in the course of ages the conquered races adopted the language of their conquerors, but not without introducing some of their own idioms. The question, then, is who these præ-Celtic islanders were, and whether the Celtic languages still have non-Aryan traits which may be ascribed to their influence. In answer to the first of these questions, it has been supposed that the people whom the Celts found here must have been of Iberian origin, and nearly akin to the ancient inhabitants of Aquitania and the Basques of modern times. In support of this may be mentioned the testimony of Tacitus in the 11th chapter of his *Agricola*, where, in default of other sources of information, he bases his statements on the racial differences which betrayed themselves in the personal appearance of the British populations of his day. Among other things, he there fixes on the Silures as being Iberians. The whole chapter is worth reproducing here. "Ceterum, Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii: atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Ger-

manicam originem adseverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et posita contra Hispania, Iberos veteres trajecisse easque sedes occupasse, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et similes sunt; seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris, positio cœli corporibus habitum dedit. In universum tamen æstimanti, Gallos vicinum solum occupasse, credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas, superstitionum persuasione: sermo haud multum diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia, et, ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociæ Britanni præferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus: mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent, quales Galli fuerunt.”

Accordingly, some of the non-Aryan traits of Welsh and Irish may be expected to admit of being explained by means of Basque. Unfortunately, however, that language is not found to assist us much, as it is known only in a comparatively late form. So we turn to other præ-Aryan languages still spoken in Europe, namely, those of the Finnic groups. These last show a number of remarkable points of similarity with the Celtic languages. Hence it may be sup-

posed—and comparative craniology offers, I believe, no difficulty—that the British Isles, before the Celts came, were occupied by distinct races of Iberian and Finnic origin respectively, or else, in case it could be made out that Basque is related to the Finnic tongues, by a homogeneous Ibero-Finnic race forming the missing link, as the saying is, between the Iberians and the Finns. That some such a race or races once inhabited all the west of Europe is now pretty generally believed.

Proceeding on the supposition that *p* was foreign to the idioms of the insular, or, as they had now better be called to avoid confusion, the Goidelo-Kymric Celts, one may by means of names containing it point out certain localities in the British Isles occupied by tribes which were not of a Goidelo-Kymric origin. These fall into two groups, with which we may begin from the north-west and the north-east respectively. Ptolemy, who lived in the time of Adrian and Marcus Aurelius, and wrote a geography, calls one of the islands between Scotland and Ireland *Epidium*, and the Mull of Cantyre *Ἐπίδιον ἄκρον*, apparently from the people, whom he calls *Epidii*, and locates *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐπιδίου ἄκρου ὡς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς*. Further, he gives a town of the Novantæ the name *Lucopibia*: it is supposed to have stood near Luce Bay, in Wigtonshire. All these names together with

Mons Granpius may well be supposed to refer to localities to which the unabsorbed remnants of a præ-Celtic race may have been driven by the Celts. In the next place, he mentions a people in Ireland called the *Manapii*, and a town called *Manapia*, supposed by some to be the site of Dublin. As to this side of St. George's Channel, he calls St. David's Head 'Οκταπίταρον ἄκρον, and the old name of St. David's seems to have been *Menapia*, whence *Menevia*, Welsh *Mynyw*. Now it is known that there were also *Menapii* on the coast in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, but although they were a maritime people, it is hardly probable that they had sent out colonies to Ireland and Pembrokeshire. So I conclude that these names are vestiges of a non-Aryan people whom the Celts found in possession on the Continent and in the British Isles. Nor have I mentioned all, for it is hard to believe that none of the following names also is of the same origin: Welsh *Manaw*, 'the Isle of Man,' which Pliny calls *Monapia* and Ptolemy *Μονάσιδα*; *Mona*, Welsh *Mon*, 'Anglesey'; the *Menai* Straits or *Meneviacum* Fretum; Welsh *Mynyw*, 'Monmouth,' on the *Monnow*, in the territory of the ancient Silures; and possibly also *Manau* Gododin in the North, and *Momonnia*, *Mumhain*, or Munster in Ireland.

As the outposts of the other group may be men-

tioned the *Corstopitum* or *Corstopilum* of the *Itinerary* of Antoninus, which is supposed to have received its present form in the latter part of the 3rd century: it is believed that the site is that of Corbridge in Northumberland. The next is *Eppincum*, mentioned by Ptolemy as a town of the powerful tribe of the Brigantes: it is identified by some with Hexham, by others with Lanchester, and by others, with more probability, with Ebchester. Whether these two places were Gaulish or Teutonic it is not easy to say, for they cannot be very far from the district where Tacitus detected a Teutonic population; but whatever settlements there may have been on the coast from the Tweed to the Humber, the Brigantes are said by Ptolemy to border on the North Sea. Proceeding south, we come next to *Petuaria*, the town of the *Parisi*, on or near the Humber: it has already been surmised that this was a Gaulish position. We now come to the Iceni in Norfolk, who had a king whose name, according to Tacitus, was *Prasutagus*. Next we have Ptolemy's *Toliapis*, supposed to be Sheppey, and his *Rutupiæ*, identified with Richborough in Kent. More inland we meet with a people whom he calls *Κατρευχλανοὶ οἱ καὶ Καπελάνοι*, possessing the towns of Verulamium or Old Verulam near St. Alban's, and *Salinæ*, which has been sought for in Bedfordshire

and South Lincolnshire. More to the west and north, we find in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus a place bearing the distinctly Gaulish name *Penno-crucium* in the territory of the Cornavii, who may, therefore, be concluded to be Gauls: the site is identified by some with Penkridge in Staffordshire, and by others with Stretton. Add to these vestiges of the Gaul the fact that we have Gauls in the Belgæ, who counted among their towns Aquæ Sulis or Bath, and in the Atrebatii located between them and the Thames. Compare also what Cæsar says on this point in the 13th chapter of his fifth book. From these indications it seems to follow that rather more than one half of what is now England belonged in Cæsar's time to tribes of Gaulish origin; that is to say, all east of the Trent, the Warwickshire Avon, the Parret, and the Dorsetshire Stour, excepting a Kymric peninsula reaching as far as Malmesbury, and widening perhaps towards the south to take in Wareham in Dorsetshire, where, it is said, there are inscriptions of Kymric origin. Against this may be set the Cornavii, whose territory consisted of a strip of land running from the Avon along the east of the Severn and stretching to the mouth of the Dée. If you want the assistance of a map, turn to Mr. Freeman's *Old English History* (London, 1873), where you will find one of

Britain at the beginning of the 7th century. According to that, the tract of country which the English then ruled over south of the Humber coincided almost exactly with the boundary of the Gaulish portion of Britain which has here just been roughly defined. This apparent recognition of Celtic landmarks by the later invaders is a fact the historical and political significance of which I leave to be weighed by others.

This view of the extent of Gaulish Britain, which, it hardly need be said, is a mere theory, derives some confirmation from the river-names of England, which contains, for instance, important rivers of the name of *Stour* in Kent, Suffolk, Dorset, Warwickshire, and Worcestershire. Similarly we have others bearing the name of *Ouse*, such as the Sussex Ouse, the Great Ouse, with its tributary the Little Ouse, and the Yorkshire Ouse which meets the Trent on the borders of Lincolnshire. Lastly, we find a Stratford *Avon*, a Bristol *Avon*, a Little *Avon* in Gloucestershire, a Hampshire *Avon* flowing past Salisbury, and an *Avon* entering the sea near Lymington. But these last rivers are supposed to bear an undoubted Kymric name. It is, however, an easy matter to show that it is not so. In the *Itinerary* of Antoninus we seem to meet with *Avon* in the form of *Abona*; the Modern Welsh for a river is *afon*,

which we pronounce *ävon*, and this stands for an earlier *abona* or *amona*, which would in the course of phonetic decay have to become our *afon*. Now it happens that it was probably not a rule of Welsh phonology to change *b* or *m* into *v* till about the 8th century: so it remains that we should suppose this softening to have taken place in English, or in the language of the British Gauls, whom the English found in possession of the country drained by the Avons. X Possibly another and an earlier instance occurs in the *vn*, or, as it is usually printed, *un* of such Gaulish names as *Cassivellaunus*, *Vercassivellaunus*, *Segovellauni*, *Vellaunodunum*, as well, perhaps, as *Alaunus*, *Genauni*, *Icaunus*, *Ligaunus*, and the like. Welsh tradition has, it is true, made *Cassivellaunus* into *Caswallawn*, and *Caswallon*, which naturally takes its place by the side of *Cadwallon*, *Idwallon*, and *Tudwallon*; but it is by no means usual for early *aun* to make *awn*, *on* in Modern Welsh, whence it is possible that only the *wall* of the Welsh names just mentioned is to be equated with the *vell* of such Gaulish ones as *Cassivellaunus*, and that the terminations are completely different. In that case *Cadwallon* and *Cassivellaunus* should be considered as standing for *Catuvellân*- and *Cassivellamn*-, the latter containing a *vellamn*- which I would identify with

Walamn-i, a name which occurs on an Irish tombstone now in the British Museum; two of its edges read *Maqvi Ercias* and *Maqvi Walamni*: we further seem to have the Gaulish equivalent in VALLAVNIVS on a stone at Caerleon. It is needless to add that *mn* remained intact both in Early Welsh—witness *Sagramni*—and in Old Welsh, as, for instance, in the Juvenius Codex in the verb *scamnhegint*, “levant,” from *scamn*, now *yscafñ*, ‘light, not heavy.’ The softening of *m* into *v* is not the only instance of Gaulish outstripping Welsh in the path of phonetic decay. Another familiar one of a different order occurs in the *o* of *petorritum* for *ua* or *uo*, still represented in full by *wa* in the Modern Welsh *pedwar*, ‘four.’

LECTURE V.

"Y mae llythraeth y Gymraeg yn fater lled ddryys; ac y mae llawer o ysgrifenyddyr, yn enwedig y rhai ieuainc, yn llawer rhy fyrbwyll a phenderfynol yn ei gylch, ac yn dueddol i feddwl eu bod yn ei amgylfred yn drwyadl, pan y maent hwythau, yn rhy fynych, heb gymmaint a deall elfenau cyntaf y peth y maent yn eu hystyried eu hunain yn athrawon ynddo."—DANIEL SILVAN EVANS.

In this lecture it is proposed to give a brief sketch of the fortunes of the Roman alphabet among the Kymry, and to follow it through the successive modifications which it has undergone among us down to the present day. For the sake of not breaking on the continuity of its history, what I have to say respecting the Ogmic system will be reserved for another occasion; for the same reason also I have thought it advisable to omit a number of details, otherwise highly interesting, as well as all reference to the improved methods of dealing with pronunciations inculcated with so much success by Mr. Ellis, Mr. Melville Bell, and Mr. Sweet.

The Roman capitals found in our Early Inscriptions are A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X. As to their formation, they are mostly more or less debased, as archæologists

term it:—As in Roman inscriptions, the letter D is to be found occasionally reversed with or without prolonging the perpendicular, so as to give it the look of our minuscule d; N and S also occur reversed, and the I, when final, is frequently placed in a horizontal position, but in the genitive FILI it forms now and then a short stroke tagged on to the short bar of the F and the end of the L; these are, however, by no means the only instances in which it is of a smaller formation, as in Roman inscriptions, than the other letters. Ligatures are not at all unusual; on the other hand, abbreviations are rare in our inscriptions of the earliest class, and in this they strongly contrast with Roman ones, as in fact they might be expected to do, seeing that they are the work of a people who was, to say the least of it, less given to writing than the Romans were. A general survey of our ancient monuments would convince one that the style of the letters used was subject to a steady change, which by the end of the Brit-Welsh period had reached such a point that they could no longer be conveniently called Roman letters. Hence it is that they are variously termed Anglo-Saxon, by those who are familiar with the use made of them in Old English, and Irish by others who are better acquainted with the Irish language, which is to this day written in them; while of late it has

been usual to make a compromise between the English and the Irish by manufacturing for them the adjective Hiberno-Saxon. But all this tends to conceal their real origin; for though this style of letters became naturalised among our neighbours in Ireland and England, it was among the Kymry that it was developed and invested with an individuality of its own. Under the circumstances, we are entitled to speak of it as Kymric, and to call the individual characters Kymric letters. The following are the forms in which they appear in printed Irish: < b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r t u x. The change from the capitals of the Roman period to the corresponding characters used by the Welsh in the 9th and 10th century of course did not, as has already been suggested, happen in a day, and our inscriptions supply us with most of the intermediate steps. But I could not hope to make this perfectly clear to you without the aid of good drawings or photographs of the inscriptions themselves; a deficiency which has quite recently been met by the publication of them in an easily accessible form by Dr. Hübner of Berlin, in a work entitled "*Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae* (Berlin and London, 1876). A still more elaborate work on the same subject is promised by the English palæographer, Professor Westwood, under the auspices of the Cambrian

Archæological Association. To ascertain the relative dates of our inscriptions, that is to say, to arrange them chronologically, is the one leading problem to the solution of which all investigations into Kymric epigraphy ought to contribute: a first rude attempt at this might be based on the style and form of the letters to which your attention has been called. Thus all our non-Ogmic inscriptions down to the beginning of the 12th century or thereabouts might be classed as follows: (*a*) Those cut exclusively in Roman capitals; (*b*) those in which some of the letters are found to assume the Kymric minuscule form; and (*c*) those which consist entirely of Kymric letters. However, another step in the same direction would probably bring one to modify and correct, by means of grammatical and historical indications, this very rough classification, with some such result as to distribute (*a*) between the Roman and the Brit-Welsh period, leaving (*b*) entirely to the Brit-Welsh period and (*c*) mostly to that of Old Welsh.

The next place must be given to a short account of the values of the characters which have been thus far occupying us, and for the present it will be convenient to treat the inscriptions of the Roman and Brit-Welsh periods as though they were all entirely written in Roman capitals,

unalloyed and undebased. Generally speaking, the letters may also be regarded as having the same values as in Latin; but in a few instances that statement requires to be explained or qualified.

H. In occasionally writing *oc* and *ic* for *hoc* and *hic*, the Welsh seem to have only imitated the Romans, who, as early as the time of Augustus, sometimes pronounced the aspirate and sometimes not; later the confusion became still more complete: see Corssen's work already alluded to, i. 107. Some difficulty is offered by the occasional use of *h* for the guttural spirant *ch*; for not only is the sound of *h* known to become *ch* in Welsh, and *vice versa*, but it seems certain that in *Broho* and *Brohomagli*, the letter *h* represents the *ch* of the later *Brochmail* and *Brochmel*, a sound we find so written in *Decheti* for an earlier *Decceti*. It had also probably the same value in *Alhortus*. But how came the Welsh to write *h* for *ch*? It is probable that *h* represented both the aspirate and the guttural spirant in Old English, and it might be said that we owe this use of it in our inscriptions to early English influence; but even could it be allowed that all the instances in question date after the beginning of the 7th century, that would hardly seem probable. We have, therefore, to fall back, perhaps, on the fact proved by Corssen (i. 97-99),

that the old guttural spirant *ch*, which the Italian nations began at a very early date to reduce to *h*, lingered on a considerable time in the Latin language, which, however, assigned it a very inferior part, and took no trouble to distinguish it in writing from the aspirate ever encroaching upon it. It is possible that *h* pronounced *ch* continued in popular Latin even later than Corssen would have admitted, and that it is to this pronunciation continuing in the country after it had been given up by the more genteel *rerum domini* in the city of Rome, that the often-cited words of Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Cicero, originally referred: "Rusticus fit sermo, si aspires perperam." However that may be, if the guttural spirant continued in vulgar or rustic Latin down to the time of Julius Agricola—and Italy is a land where dialects have always thriven—it could hardly fail to have reproduced itself in the provincial Latin of Britain, and this would explain how our ancestors came to represent it in writing by *h*, and not by *ch*, in words belonging to their own language. But in what words would the latter be likely to give them occasion to use it before the departure of the Romans? Not in such as *Brohomagli*, for here the spirant only came in some time after as the continuator of *cc*; it was late, also, no doubt, that initial *sm* became

hw; whence we have now *hw* in S. Wales, and *chw* in N. Wales. There remain two combinations where they may have had it—namely, in words where we now have *ch* or *h* corresponding to Irish *ss* (also written *s*), mostly for an original *ks*, as in Welsh *dehau* (also *dechew*, and even *detheu*), ‘right, south;’ O. Ir. *des*; it is to this origin I would refer the spirant represented by *h* in *Alhorty*_x. The other is where we have *th*, with vowel compensation, answering to Irish *cht*, as in Welsh *taith*, ‘a journey;’ O. Ir. *techt*, ‘to go;’ Welsh *myth*, ‘eight;’ O. Ir. *ocht*. The original of this was *kt*, which the Goidelo-Kymric Celts seem to have modified into *cht*, and that possibly before their separation into Kymric and Goidelic nations. However, after weighing all the difficulties which beset this question, I am inclined to think that though our ancestors may possibly have heard *h* pronounced as *ch* in a few Latin words, the use of *h* for *ch* by them in writing their own language is to be traced to the influence of the Ogam alphabet, the discussion of which will give me an opportunity of returning to this point.

L. On the stone at Llanfihangel ar Arth, we have *FIVS* clearly cut instead of *FILIVS*. This spelling is, however, to be traced to a Latin source: see Corssen’s work already referred to, i. 228,

where such instances as *fiae* for *filiae*, *Corneius* for *Cornelius*, and the like, are cited.

Nc, Ng. On one stone we have *Tuncetace* and on another *Evolengi*, while the same name occurs also as *Evolengi*. The digraphs *nc, ng*, were probably meant to represent the nasal gutturals, surd and sonant respectively. Such forms as *nuncquam, conjuncx, juncxit, extincxit*, and the like, occur in Roman inscriptions of the time of the Empire. Names in *agn*, such as *Ercagni* and *Maglagni*, appear later as *Erchan* and *Maelan*; so *-agn* must have passed into *-angn* towards the close of the Brit-Welsh period, though the spelling in the inscriptions in point gives us no clue to the change: later *angn* was simplified into *an*. Had the language followed suit with the Irish, which has reduced *-agn* into *-án*, we should have had not *Erchan* and *Maelan*, but *Erchaen* and *Maelaen*; possibly in some instances *-angn* may have yielded *-amn* by a change of *ng* into *n*, which occasionally occurs: see the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 192.

Np occurs, if I may trust my last attempt to read the Cynffig stone, in the name *Punpeius*, more commonly met with in books in the form *Pompeius*. It was not unusual, Corssen (i. 263) tells us, in Latin inscriptions of the 3d, 4th, and 5th centuries, to write not only *np, nb*, but also *mt, md*, the reason being, as he thinks, that

neither *n* nor *m* was clearly pronounced in such positions: they seem to have served merely to give a nasal effect to the vowel going before them, and they were, accordingly, often left altogether unrepresented in writing. From O. Latin Corssen quotes as instances *Poponi*, *Saproni*, *Noubris*, *Decebris*, and from late Latin *cupare* (= *compare*), *incoparabile*, *exepļu*, *Novēbres*. It is curious to find that the epitaph just alluded to has *Punpeius* rendered in Ogam by a form beginning with *Pope*—the rest of the word is now illegible, but it would seem to have been *Popei*, for *Pompei*.

S. Final *s* is frequently omitted in our Early Inscriptions, as, for instance, in the Latin words *cive*, *Cælexti*, *Eternali*, *Nobili*, *Vitali*, for *cives*, *Cælextis*, *Eternalis*, *Nobilis*, *Vitalis*. The same is the case with nominatives singular of the second declension when the vowel used is *o*, as in *conso-brino*, *Eimetiaco*, *Emereto*, for *consobrinus*, *Eimetiacos*, *Emeretos*. But in case the vowel chosen was the later *u*, the *s* is written as in *Curcagnus*, *Ordous*, *Saturninus*, and even in Roman inscriptions nominatives in *us* and *o* are, as far as I can ascertain, more numerous than those in *u* and *os*. No nominatives in *is* for *ius* (see Corssen, i. 289, 758) retain their final *s* in our inscriptions, excepting *Venedotis*, which I take to mean *Venedotius*, on one of the Penmachno stones. In popular

Latin final *s* probably dropped out of the pronunciation at an early date, whence it naturally followed that men who nevertheless had an idea that some forms had a right to it, occasionally inserted it in the wrong place: among other instances, Corssen (i. 293) gives the genitives *meis*, *Mercuris*, *Saturnis*, and the ablatives *Antios*, *domus*, *juniores*. We seem to have an instance of the same kind in the Trefgarn inscription, reading *Nogtivis Fili Demeti*.

X. The combination *xs* for *x* is exceedingly common in Roman inscriptions, and we meet with it on the Trefarchog stone in the Latin word *uxsor*, which, however, occurs written *uxor* on the Voelas Hall stone. At a comparatively early date *x*, that is *cs*, had got to be frequently pronounced *ss* or *s*, whence a good deal of confusion between *x* and *s* in writing. Such instances as *vis* for *vix*, *visit* for *vixit*, and *felis* for *felix*, are to be met with, and *vice versa* one finds *milex* for *miles*, and *xancto* for *sancto* (Corssen i. 297, 298). The only instance of this kind which we have is *Cælexti*, for *Cælestis*, on the Llanaber stone, near Barmouth. But that the reduction of *x* into *ss* or *s* cannot have been general in Latin before the Romans came in contact with our ancestors, is proved by the fact of its yielding in Welsh words borrowed from Latin, not *s* simply, but *s* preceded by vowel compensation

in cases where *x* followed close on the tone-vowel, as for instance in the three words which follow: *coes*, 'a leg,' from *coxa*, 'the hip,' *llaes*, 'slack, long,' from *laxus*, and *pais*, formerly *peis*, 'a coat, a petticoat,' from *pexa*, that is *pexa vestis* or *pexa tunica*, though a somewhat different meaning is usually ascribed to *pexa* in Horace's words, when he says:—

"Si forte subucula pexæ
Trita subest tunicæ vel si toga dissidet impar,
Rides."

J. A word, in the next place, as to the semi-vowels *j* and *v*. The Romans at one time used to write *eiis*, *Gaiius*, *peiïus*, *Pompeiïus*, and to sound them *ejjus*, *Gajjus*, *pejjus*, *Pompejjus* with *j* (= *y* in the English word *yes* or nearly so); but that does not help us much with our inscriptional forms *Lovernii*, *Seniargii*, and *Ma..arii*, where the *ii* can hardly have meant *i* or *ij*, but either *ji* or *iji*. Another curious case is that of *MVLIER*, for *mulier*, on the Tregaron stone at Goodrich Court. Here the second *I* may be due to thoughtlessness on the inscriber's part, but I see no reason to think so. It may be looked at another way: possibly it was his intention to represent correctly his pronunciation of the Latin *mulier* as a trisyllable, so that what he meant was *mulijer*; but that is hardly probable, as the inscription seems to be by no means one of the earliest, and as it would have been

more in accordance with the habit of our ancestors to have treated *mulier* as *muljer*. So it remains that we should regard the pronunciation intended as being *muljjer*, and the *jj* as a parallel to the *nn* of *Ilwneto* written in Ogam on the Trallong stone, near Brecon X

V. Latin *v* was probably pronounced like English *w*, and the combination *vu* was frequently reduced to *u* in the popular Latin of the time of the Empire: among the instances given by Corssen, i. 321, are *aus*, *flaus*, *noum*, for *avus*, *flavus*, *novum*. We seem to have an instance of this on the Penbryn stone in *Ordous*, which probably means *Ordovus*, whence Ptolemy's plural *Opδovvikes*. We have the *v* doubled on the Glan Usk stone in *PVVERI* for *pueri*, and so in *NVVINTI* at Cynwil Caio. They are probably to be pronounced *puveri* and *Nuvinti*, with the former of which compare *povero* mentioned by Corssen, i. 362, 668, as well as Italian *rovina* as compared with *ruina*, and other cases of the same kind. In Anglesey we meet with *ORVVITE*, which may mean *Oruvite* or *Orvvite*. If the preference be given to the latter, as I am inclined to do, the spelling *Orvvite* must be regarded as dictated by the same cause as *Ilwneto* and *mulier*. Probably both *jj* and *vv* or *nn* represent peculiarities of pronunciation which cannot now be correctly guessed, and it is worth

noticing that the semi-vowel in PVVERI, ORVVITE, and *Ilmeto* occupies just those positions where O. Welsh would give us *gu* (= *gn*). So had we instances of initial *vv* or *nn*, nothing would be wanting to convince one that the digraph represented the phonetic antecedent of our *gu*, *gn*. It is curious to observe that PVVERI has its exact parallel on one of the few bilingual stones known in Ireland: I allude to DRVVIDES on the Killeen Cormac stone in the county of Kildare.

The doubling of consonants took place as in Latin, especially where it was warranted by pronunciation and etymology: this would be the case in accented syllables. Even when the doubling dictated by the etymology of the word was not favoured by the presence of the accent, it seems nevertheless to have been the rule, but it was liable to be forgotten by the inscribers, as for instance in *Enabbarri* for *Ennabarri*, *Fanoni* related to *Fannuci*, *Qvenatauci* for a name I should consider more correctly written *Qvennatauci*, *Tovisaci* for *Tovissaci*, and *Triluni* for *Trilluni*. Towards the end of the Brit-Welsh period we meet with *opinatisimus* and *sapientisimus*, and altogether *s* is seldom doubled, but *Trenegussi* occurs so written, while the Ogam gives it as *Trenagusu*. It is possible that the nominative *Cunocenni* was paroxytone, while its genitive *Cunoceni* was a

perispomenon; but no ingenuity could discover reasons for the spelling *Vendubari* as compared with *Barriendi* and *Enabarri*, nor can *Sagrani* be defended except as a defective spelling of *Sagranni*, the Ogmic form being indubitably *Sagramni*: the reduction of *mn* to *nn* was familiar in Latin as early as Cicero's time, as when *cum nobis* and *etiam nunc* were pronounced *cun nobis* and *etian nunc*: see Corssen, i. 265.

A. A word now as to the vowels: short *a* at the end of the first part of a compound appears to have acquired an obscure pronunciation. In Ogam it is always written *a*, as in *Cunatami*, *Cunacennimi*, *Nettasagru*, *Trenagusu*; so also in the Latin version of the names *Catamanus*, *Corbalengi*, *Enabarri*, *Qvenatauci*, *Trenacatus*. Advantage seems to have been taken of the obscurity of the vowel in question to give the compounds somewhat more of the appearance of Latin formations; so we find it written *o* and *e*, as in *Cunocenni*, *Cunotami*, *Evolengi*, with which compare the Irish *E^hacattos*, of doubtful reading, it is true, *Senomagli*, *Senemagli*, and *Trenegussi*. The *o* of *Catotigirni*, though probably of the same obscure sound, is of a different origin, standing as it seems to do for an earlier *u*: similarly the *e* of *Anatemori* possibly represents an earlier *i* or *ja*, if one is to analyse the name, not into *Ana-temori*, but *Anate-*

mcri, with *anate* ^{of the same origin and meaning as the} ~~representing what is in~~ Mod. Welsh *enaid*, 'soul,' and to regard the compound as meaning *eneid-fawr*, *magnanimus*, *μεγαλόθυχος*.

E. According to Corssen, i. 325, short *e* had two sounds in early Latin; one of them approached that of *i* as in the words *fameliai*, *Menervai*, *mereto*, *tempestatebus*. This may be seen, he thinks, from the fact that in the language of the educated it passed later into *i*, while that of the people retained the old sound. This twofold value of Roman *e* explains to some extent the hesitation which the early Welsh display in the spelling of such names as *Catotigirni*, *Tegernomali*, *Tegernacus*, from a word *tigern-*, now *teyrn*, 'a lord or monarch,' all from *tig-*, now *ty*,
 × 'a house;' ~~compare, however, our *Qoici* and the *Quesi* of an Irish epitaph.~~ As to *Emereto* on the Cwm Gloyn stone, it is not *Emeritus* changed by the Welsh into *Emereto*, but written by them as they learned it from Roman mouths. Similarly *cives*, which occurs more than once for *civis* in the Roman inscriptions of Britain, proves that we owe the *e* in *cive*, for *cives*, on the Penmachno stone, to no caprice of the inscriber. And it can hardly be doubted that it was from this country that the same pronunciation of Latin found its way into Ireland, where it appears on the Killeen Cormac stone already alluded to. To pass by the

Ogam on it, which, according to the last account of it, kindly sent me by Dr. Samuel Ferguson of the Royal Irish Academy, should be read *Umanos Awi Emacattos*, the Latin version is *IVVENE DRVVIDES*, for *IVVENES DRVVIDES*, to be construed in the genitive as meaning *Lapis Sepulcralis Juvenis Druidis*. Of Latin genitives in *es* for *is* Mr. Stokes has found traces in Irish manuscripts; he mentions *os turtiores* for *os turturis*, in an old Irish commentary at Turin; see Kuhn's *Beitraege*, v. p. 365, and compare our *Res patres* for *Ris patris*, to be noticed later.

O. As in the case of *ě*, so also *ǫ* had two sounds in early Latin (Corssen, i. 342). The one was a clear *o*, the other approached *u*, and passed in the dialect of the educated into *u*, while popular Latin retained the older sound. Not to go further than the Roman inscriptions of Britain, as edited by Dr. Hübner in the volume already more than once referred to, it may be noticed that the more formal and carefully executed of them follow the rule of literary Latin; but when we come to the names of tradesmen as stamped on their wares, the struggle between *ǫ* and *ǔ* reappears, as in the following names, which are all in the nominative case singular: *Cocuro*, also *Cocurus*, *Dometos*, *Julios*, usually *Julius*, *Malledo*, also *Malledu*, *Malluro*, also *Mallurus*, *Mercios*, and *Viducos*,

also twice *Viducus*, whence it would seem that the fashion tended to the use of *u* when the *s* was retained, and *o* when it was not. That this hesitation between *ō* and *ū* was bequeathed by the Romans to their Kymric pupils is certain: witness the following instances — *consobrinus* for *conso-brinus*, *Emereto* for *Emeritus*, *servatur* and *amator* on the same stone; and *Punpeius* for *Pumpeius*, in ordinary letters, accompanied by *Pope-* for *Pompe-*, in Ogam, on another stone. In the same way as *consobrinus* and *Emereto*, I would also treat the early Kymric names *Eimetiacus*, in ALHORTVSEIMETIACO, on the Llanaelhaiarn stone, and *Cavo*, in CAVOSENARGII, on the stone in Llanfor Church, near Bala. This, unfortunately, does not materially help us in deciding whether the vowel which is written *u* and *o* in *maccu* and *macco*, and in genitives of the *U* declension, such as *Trenagusu*, was long or short, as an interchange of *ō* with *ū* is not out of the question.

Â. Where we have *aw* in Mod. Welsh, the language had at an earlier stage *ā* with a pronunciation to be compared probably with that of *a* in the English word *ball* or *aw* in *draw*. This would be the sort of vowel to occasion some hesitation, in writing, between *a* and *o*. We have it, accordingly, written *a* in *Eimetiacus*, *Senacus*, *Tovisaci*, *Tegernacus*, *Veracius*, and *o* in *Cone-*

toci and *Anatemori*, where *mor-i* is perhaps the prototype of our *manr* 'great,' while the *a* appears unchanged in *Cimarus* on one of the Caerleon stones of the Roman period, and invites comparison with such names as *Indutiomarus*, *Segomarus*, and the like. The same sound it is perhaps that meets us in *Daari*, the syllable *daar* in this name being probably of the same origin as the Greek δῶρον, 'a gift:' compare Διόδωρος, 'Ηλιόδωρος, 'Απολλόδωρος, and the like. The doubling of the vowel was an early expedient used by the Romans when they wished to indicate that it was to be pronounced long, but no trace of it appears in the Roman inscriptions of this country. However, it is an expedient which might suggest itself to anybody, and besides in *Daari* we have it in a name beginning with *Cuur* in an epitaph of a considerably later date on a stone now in Llangaffo Church in Anglesey: the same method of indicating long vowels was also sometimes adopted by the Irish. It would not be safe to compare *Lovernii*, *Seniargii*, and the like.

Ê. The confusion of *æ* with *ê* and even *ê* was common in late Latin: we have a good instance of this in one of our inscriptions in the words *Servatur Fidæi Patrie[que] Amator*. Your attention was called in another lecture to the probability of feminine nominatives in *e* owing that

ending to a Latinising tendency. The most trustworthy instances occur in the following inscriptions:—

1. Tuncetace Uxsor Daari Hic Jacit.
2. Evali Fili Dencui Cuniovende Mater Ejus.
3. Hic In Tumulo Jacit R...stece Filia Pater-nini Ani xiii In Pa.
4. Brohomagli Jam Ic Jacit Et Uxor Ejus Caune.
5. Culidori Jacit Et Orvvite Mulier Secundi.

Besides these we have a fragment reading *Adiune*; and another stone, the reading of which is extremely difficult, seems to yield us the feminine nominative *Cunaide*. Then there remain two names in *e* which it would be hazardous to regard as feminine. The one is a genitive occurring on the Llanwinio stone, which I read, with considerable hesitation, *Bladi Fili Bodibeve*. Here, if one treat *Bodibeve* as a feminine, the anomaly of the mother being mentioned instead of the father has to be accounted for: so there seems to be no alternative but to suppose *Bodibeve* to be the father's name. The other instance is *Nogtene* in Ogam, and accompanied in Roman capitals by *Nogtivis Fili Demeti* on the Trefgarn stone. There seems to be no reason to expect a Latinised form written in Ogam, so that *Nogtene*

would appear to be, not a feminine nominative, but a genitive like *Bodibeve*. If so, the final *e* in both is perhaps to be regarded as a by-form of the *i* of the genitive of the *I*-declension, just as we have *o* and *u* in that of the *U*-declension. Here it should be mentioned that we have at least one Early Welsh name containing \bar{e} which later yielded *oe*: I allude to *Vennisetli* on the Llansaint stone—the name occurs later as *Gwynhoedl* and *Gwennoedyl*, which, teach us that our *hoedl*, ‘life, lifetime,’ was in Early Welsh *sētl*. ✕

Ū. Early Welsh \bar{u} must have had at least two sounds, that of long *u* in Italian, German, and English in such words as *rule*, *food*, and another sound resembling French *u*, or our modern $u = \bar{u}$, or perhaps intermediate between them; but this will require some explanation. Many languages have shown a steady tendency to let \bar{u} (and sometimes \bar{y}) gradually pass into *i*. Physiologically speaking, this seems to mean that the pitch of the resonance chamber formed by the mouth in pronouncing \bar{u} is gradually raised by shortening the mass of air extending from the vocal chords to the lips, in order to let them settle nearer their position of rest, and reduce the tension of the muscles called into action when the mouth has to be maintained at its greatest length, as measured from the vocal chords to the lips. When \bar{u} passed

into *i* no break is likely to have happened in the transition; it will, nevertheless, be convenient to fix on one or two intermediate stages corresponding to the sound of French *ū* or Greek *û*, which nearly resembled French *ū* and will here be used for it, and our Mod. Welsh *u*, which comes near German *ü*, which may here represent it. We have thus the series *ū, u, ü, i*, or perhaps better still, *ū, ō, u, ü, i*. As instances may be mentioned the following: Aryan *au* had been reduced into *y*, sounded like French *ū*, in O. English, and by the 13th century it had so closely approached *i* as to be confounded with it in writing. Or take the case of Greek, in which *σύ*, for instance, Doric *τύ*, 'thou,' stands for *tuam*, as may be seen from the Sanskrit form which is *tvam*; but in Mod. Greek the vowel *υ* is further narrowed so as to be pronounced now like *ι*, excepting in the Spartan dialect, where the old sound still seems to be usual, a characteristic which the Greek who pointed it out to me considered modern and vulgar! In the same way Latin *ū* has regularly yielded its much narrower French representative, and in German the sound written *ü* is to Frenchmen's thinking frequently pronounced *i*. Lastly, Early Welsh *ō* or *ū* has given us our modern *u* (= *ü*), which is mostly pronounced *i* in South Wales: this may be most readily exemplified in

the case of words borrowed from Latin, such as *dûrus*, 'hard,' and *labor*, *labôris*, 'labour,' which have given us our *dur*, 'steel,' and *llafur*, 'labour, tillage,' pronounced in S. Wales *dir* and *llafr* respectively. Curiously enough the same process had gone on in Welsh at an earlier stage in its history, namely in those words where Mod. Welsh has *i* corresponding to Irish *ú*: it was complete about the end of the Brit-Welsh period, as hardly a trace of the older vowel is to be met with later. This vowel perhaps never represented an Aryan long *u*, but an *u* which became long in the course of phonetic decay, as for instance in the case of Mod. Welsh *ci*, 'a dog,' Irish *cú*, which stands for a nominative *cuans*, as may be seen from the cognate forms Greek *κύων*, Sanskrit *çvâ*, Eng. *hound*: so in Welsh *ti*, Irish *tú*, Lat. *tu*, Greek *σú*, Sanskrit *tvam*, Eng. *thou*; and so in another group of words, which must here be mentioned at somewhat greater length, namely Welsh *din*, *dinas*, 'a fort, a town or city,' Irish *dún*, O. Eng. *tún*, Mod. Eng. *town*, which point to a Celto-Teutonic base *duan* of the same origin, perhaps, in spite of the aspirate, as the Sanskrit verb *dhvan*, 'to cover one's self, to shut.' There can hardly be any doubt as to the identity of our modern *Dingad* with *Dunocati* on the stone in Glan Usk Park, whence it is highly probable that

the *u* in that name was sounded towards the close of the Brit-Welsh period more like our *i* than our *w*. The change, however, in the direction of *i* would seem to have commenced after the time of Ptolemy the geographer, who gives the prototype of our *din*, Irish *dún*, the form *δουνον* (with Greek *ou* = Latin *ū*, or English *u* in *rule*), and that whether the names in point reached him from Wales, Ireland, or Gaul: witness the following—from Wales, *Μαριδουνον*, our modern *Caerfyrddin*, ‘Carmarthen;’ from Ireland, the name of a town which he gives as *Δουνον*; and from Gaul, *Αυγουστοδουνον*, *Δουγδουνον*, *Ουξελλοδουνον*, and the like, all of which end in Latin in *dūnum*. The two Welsh series of *ū* passing into *i* were not confounded, because they were not contemporaneous, as will be seen on comparing our *tud*, formerly *tut*, Ir. *tuath*, ‘a people or nation,’ with Gaulish names such as *Toutissicnos*, *Toutiorix* (Welsh *Tutri*), and the Gaulish word *toutius*, supposed to mean ‘a citizen or one of a tribe,’ and found written *τοουτιους*, where Greek *ou*, as standing for the sound of Latin *u*, made it necessary to write *oou* to represent the Gaulish diphthong *ou*: it is very probable that Gaulish *ou* was represented by *ou* or *ou* or some nearly related diphthong also in the common language of the Goidelo-Kymric Celts before their separation.

Roughly speaking, then, the two series stood thus as far as concerns their relative dates :—

Goidelo-Kymric.	Early Welsh.	Old Welsh.	Modern Welsh.
\bar{U}	u or \ddot{u}	i	i .
<i>Ou</i>	\bar{u} or \bar{o}	u or \ddot{u}	\ddot{u} and i .

We have possibly a trace of the old spelling of *Dingad* in *Dmncat*, in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 96, but better attested is *Gurcu* for the name otherwise written *Gurci*. Whether the *u* in *Dencui*, *Dinui*, and *Sagranui* is of the kind here discussed, it will be impossible to say until one or more of these names have been identified in a later form.

Ai. We have no satisfactory instances of this diphthong; for *Vailathi* and *Genaius*, both from Cornwall, are somewhat late and highly obscure. Besides these, Cornwall offers us a name of far greater antiquity on the stone at Hayle, which I am inclined to read *Cunaide*; but others have been in the habit of reading it *Cunaido* or *Cunatdo* in the masculine. Supposing *Cunatdo* to be improbable, we should in *Cunaide* or *Cunaido* have a compound of the pretty familiar *cun-* of our early names, and of the word which appears later in Welsh in the form of *udd*, explained in Dr. Davies's dictionary as meaning *dominus*: it would seem to be matched in Irish by the old name *Oed-a* (genitive),

later *Aedh*, *Aodh*, *Haodh*, Anglicised *Hugh*, and the late Mr. Stephens of Merthyr Tydfil was probably right in regarding the *Aedd* of Mod. Welsh tradition as a Goidelic importation from North Britain—see the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1872, p. 193. If, then, *Cunaide* (or *Cunaido*) is the correct reading we have here an instance of *ai* before it was reduced to *ū*.

Au. It is probable that this diphthong in Early Welsh, or at least towards the close of that period, consisted of *a* plus the sound of the narrow *ū* already described, which would not be very far from our modern *au*. The reason why I think so is that I fancy that I find it later only as *ei* and *ai*. The cases in point are *Caune*, *Cavo*, *Qvenatauci*, *Vedomau*, and *Mauoh*... To begin with *Caune*, it can hardly be doubted that this is the name which later appears in the form of *Cein*, now *Cain*, and as an ordinary adjective *cain*, 'fair, beautiful,' of the same origin as Gothic *skauns*, Ger. *schön* 'beautiful, handsome, fair,'—our *ceinach*, 'a hare,' is not related, its *cein*- being, as pointed out by Mr. Stokes, the continuator of *ca(s)in*, of the same origin as Sanskrit *çaça*, O. Prussian *sasin*-, Ger. *hase*, Mod. Eng. *hare*. Our next instance *Cauo* can hardly but be the prototype of the well-known Welsh name *Cei*, later *Cai*, which possibly comes from the same source as *Cain*. It

is right, however, to add that Welsh tradition mentions a *Cau* or *Cam*, but he is generally mentioned as coming from Prydyn in the North. Against this should be balanced the facts that, while Welsh hagiology mentions only one *Cau* or *Cam*, we find allusions to at least three persons of the name of *Cei* or *Cai*, that *Cai* yields the derivative names *Caian* or *Caio*, and *Caian* the name of one of Caw's many sons who settled in Wales, and that not many miles from Llanfor Church, wherein is the stone bearing the name *Cavo*, is the site of *Caergai* or *Cai's* Fort. So it seems that the Welsh was *Cei* or *Cai*, while *Cau* or *Cam* not only comes from the North, but also represents, not *Cavo* or *Carus*, but a name which in its Latin form is found given as *Caunus*. *Qrenatauci* has not been identified, but the leading element in the name is already familiar to you, and *tauc-i* is possibly to be equated with *Teic-an*, a name which occurs in the *Liber Landavensis*, p. 201. Similarly in the case of *Vedomai* and *Mauoh..*, it is probable that *mau-i* and *mau-o* are of the same origin as *mai* in *Gwalchmai*, and we seem to have them in the name *Mei* and its derivative *Meic* in the same collection, pp. 199, 221, 260, 261. In Latin words the sound of *au* was different, as that makes in Welsh successively *ou*, *eu*, *au*, as in Welsh *aur* 'gold' from *aurum*,

and *Poul*, *Peul*, *Paul* from *Paulus*—the naturalised *Paul*, with $u = \ddot{u}$, has been expelled in Mod. Welsh in favour of *Paul* pronounced *Pöl*, an attempt to imitate the English: the *Paulinus* of our inscriptions should yield in Mod. Welsh *Peulin*, but I am not aware that it occurs, but we have a Welsh derivative from *Paulus*, and that is *Peulan*, as in *Llanbeulan*, the name of a church in Anglesey. It is to be regretted that *Carausius* is not to be traced in any later form known to Welsh literature.

Ei. We find *ei* in *Eimetiaco*, and its occurrence in *Punpeius* seems to indicate that it was sounded not very differently from *ei* in Mod. Welsh. Provisionally *Alhortus Eimetiaco* may be rendered *Alhortus Ære-hastatus*, the Early Welsh *ei* being the equivalent of Latin *æs*, genitive *æris*. In O. Welsh we seem to trace it in the name *Ejudon*, probably for *Ei-judon*, on a stone in the neighbourhood of Llandeilo in Carmarthenshire; and it is probably the same name, in a still shorter form, that meets us in the *Mabinogion*, ii. 206, as *Eidon*, which was then probably pronounced *Eiddon*. Further we have the same *ei* taking the form *ei* and *ai* in *haiarn*, 'iron,' *heiarnaidd*, 'like iron.' However, I could not now enter into the details of the history of these forms, as they would take up more of your time than the importance of the single vocable *Eimetiaco* could

justly claim in this lecture (see the remarks on the Welsh names of metals at the end of the volume).

If now we review the ground which we have just travelled over, everything seems to indicate that, although the polite Latin of Roman literature made its way, no doubt, into the families of natives of rank in this country, the ground it gained here was very inconsiderable as compared with the conquests made by the humble and motley dialect of the legions of imperial Rome, and those who followed in their train. This kind of vernacular, so far as we know it from the marks of potters and other tradesmen, may be said, both as regards language and lettering, to pass imperceptibly into the Latinity of our inscriptions of the Brit-Welsh period. Consequently those who try to estimate the date of the latter by the extent to which they have been debased, in point of language or lettering, as compared with the comparatively faultless official inscriptions emanating from the Roman army and its officers, cannot help incurring the risk of dating the Brit-Welsh ones all too late. For it is not an unusual thing to find that a debased letter, for instance, which does not appear in official inscriptions, was, nevertheless, in common use among the tradesmen of the time. Had Tacitus had to write of the later history of the Roman occupation, he would pro-

bably have given more room to questions of language than he does in his account of Agricola's successful policy, when he says in the twenty-first chapter of that work: "*Jam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut, qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga. Paullatimque discessum ad delinimenta vitiorum, porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.*"

Another point worthy of notice here is the fact that our inscriptions seem to prove, beyond all doubt, that Latin continued to be one of the languages used by our ancestors for a long time after the departure of the Romans, and after the British Church had acquired strength enough to secure it against speedy extinction. Eventually no doubt the vernacular of the Roman tradesman passed into a kind of ecclesiastical Latin; but from the 1st century to the 10th its history in the west of Britain probably knew no entire break, and Bede's words cannot perhaps be quite irrelevant, when he says that the island was in his time, the earlier part of the 8th century, divided between five peoples, the English, the Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins. This brings us down to the O. Welsh period.

The alphabet in use in the specimens of Old Welsh extant consisted of the following letters in their Kymric form : a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u. *X* occurs in Nemnivus's alphabet; *ð* and *p* only occasionally appear, and *œ* is to be met with only in proper names in Asser's Latin writings.

B. The leading value of this letter was no doubt the same which we still assign it. But the Romans began as early as the 2nd century to write *b* for *v*, and from the beginning of the 4th century on their archives are said to show instances of this in abundance: witness such forms as *Flabio* for *Flavio*, *Balentiniano* for *Valentiniano*, *Nerba* for *Nerva*, and *salbus* for *salvus*. This habit of course found its way among the Welsh, hence we find *properabit* for *properavit* on a cross at Margam, and *Iob* in the Ovid Glosses for what was later written *Iou*, now *Jau*, 'Jove.' But the use of *b* for *v* by the Kymry in O. Welsh and in Latin must have been far more common than these two instances would suggest, otherwise it is difficult to see how it could have been regularly adopted in O. Irish in such words as *fedb*, Welsh *gweiddw*, 'a widow;' *tarb*, Welsh *tarm*, 'a bull;' *serbe*, Welsh *chmermedd*, 'bitterness.' The confusion of *b* and *v* in writing makes it very hard to ascertain when *b* began to be reduced to *v* in

Welsh pronunciation. That such a reduction had begun very early in the O. Welsh period is rendered probable by the fact, that the labial is occasionally elided in our earliest specimen of manuscript Welsh, the Capella Glosses, as for instance in *tu*, 'side,' for *tūb*, *tūv*, O. Ir. *tóib*, and in *luird*, i.e. *luirth*, 'gardens,' for *lubgirth*, the plural of a word now written *lluarth*, Mod. Ir. *lubbghort*.

C has never had the sound of *s* in Welsh.

Ch mostly had its present value of a guttural spirant: occasionally it is found written *hc*, and sometimes the *h* is not written at all. It is to be noticed that once it is written for *gh*, namely, in *inkelcha*, "in venando," in the Capella Glosses; but it does not follow that it was then pronounced as *gh*, it being possible that *gh* had been dialectically proved in pronunciation into *ch* in this instance.

D, *d*, *t*, *th*, *dd*, *ð*, *þ*. The chief use of *d* in O. Welsh was no doubt to represent the same sound as in Modern Welsh. Besides that, it had also to stand for the consonant we now write *dd* and Englishmen *th* (as in *this*), but probably only where that consonant had taken the place of an original *j*. At any rate we have no indication that *d* began to be reduced into this sonant spirant until towards the close of the period. In one instance the Welsh borrowed the O. English *d* with a stroke

- through the stem (ð) to represent the sound of our *dd*, namely, in the Lichfield Codex in *in ois oisouð* “in sæculum sæculorum,”—this is now *yn oes oesoedd*. Mr. Stokes identifies our *llarenydd*, ‘joy,’ O. Welsh *leguenid* with O. Ir. *láine*, and suggests as a possibly related word the *Lavinia* of Roman legend, all of the *Ja*-declension: so *-id* in the following stanza, which occurs in the Juvencus Codex, stands for *ð* :—

“Na mereit mi nep leguenid—henoid
Is discnir mi coueidid
Dou nam riceus unguetid.”

Further, as *d* could represent our sonant spirant *dd*, for which we may also use *ð*, it came, by a little sacrifice of accuracy, to be occasionally used for the corresponding surd *th*, as in *luird*, for *luirth*, and *papedpinnac*, for *papethpinnac*, ‘whatsoever,’ in the Capella Glosses. This confusion points to English, in which the uncertainty as to the use of *d*, *ð*, *th*, and *p* has given rise to much discussion. The last mentioned character, a *D* with the stem prolonged both ways, was also occasionally borrowed by the Welsh to do duty for the digraph *th*, as in *pep* in the Juvencus Glosses, and once in the Oxford Cornish Codex we find *ð* used for *th* in *laið-ver*, Mod. Welsh *llaeth*, ‘milk.’ Now as *d* = *ð* could do duty for *th*, so *vice versa*, *th* could be used for *d* = *ð*, and further, as *th* was

used by some as a mere equivalent for *t*—more strictly speaking it meant an aspirated *t*, as in O. Welsh *hanther*, ‘half,’ from a manuscript which also shows *pimphet*, ‘fifth’—especially in writing Latin, we find *t* also occasionally standing for the spirants *th* and *ð*, as for instance in the Ovid gloss *gurt*, for *gurth*, ‘against;’ and in the tract on weights and measures in the earlier Oxford Codex we have both *petguared part* and *petguared pard* for *petguareð parth*, now *pedverydd parth*, ‘fourth part;’ but still more interesting is the marginal gloss in the Juvenecus Codex, which is read *issit padiu itau gulat*, and should be treated as *iss ð pad iu ðau gulat*, meaning literally, *est id quod est illi patria*: the words meant to be explained form the relative clause in the following:—

“Cunctis genitoris gloria vestri,
Laudetur, celsi thronus est cui regia caeli.”

But elsewhere in the same manuscript we have *irhinn issid crist*, ‘what Christ is,’ with *d* for *ð*. Accordingly the Welsh stanza just mentioned would be a little more accurately written thus:—

Na mereit mi nep leguenið—henoith
Is discnir mi coueithið
Dou nam riceus unguet:ð.

The habit alluded to of treating *t* and *th* as equivalents is plentifully illustrated by Giraldus Cambrensis in the way he transcribes Welsh

names such as his *Thaph* or *Taph*, 'the river Taf,' *Llandinegath* for *Llandinegat*, 'Llandingad,' *Rothericus* for *Rotericus*, 'Rhodri,' and the like; but he was so far impartial that he occasionally also wrote *ch* for *c* as in *Gueneloch*, 'Wenlock,' and *Oscha*, 'the Usk:' similarly Ricemarch in his life of St. David writes *Theibi* for *Teibi*, now *Teifi*, 'the river Teivi.' The same habit is conspicuous in the Cornish Vocabulary printed at the end of the *Grammatica Celtica*. We trace it still earlier in *Conthigirni*, now 'Cyndeyrn,' in the oldest manuscript of the *Annales Cambriae*, the writer of which more frequently, however, asserts the equivalence of *th* and *t* by writing *t* and *c* for the spirants *th* and *ch*, as in *Artmail* and *Brocmal* for *Arthmail* and *Brochmail*. The latter is also written without *h*, as is likewise *Euty chius*, in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, where, on the other hand, we have *Meilochon*, a form of the name *Maglocunus* intermediate between it as used by Gildas and our modern *Maelgwn*—in fact the person referred to by Bede is called by Irish annalists *Maelcon* (see Reeves' edition of *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, pp. 148, 371). Add to this *Cluith* and *Alcluith*, which Bede so writes for *Cluit* and *Alcluit*. In all these instances and the like, *ch*, *th*, *ph* were either aspirated *c*, *t*, *p*, as in *brick-house*, *pent-house*, and *uphold*, or simple *c*, *t*, *p*.

F would seem to have had the same sound in O. Welsh as our *ff* now. It occurs mostly in words borrowed from Latin, and as the initial of Welsh words which originally must have begun with *sp*: take for instance *ffer*, 'the ankle,' Greek *σφυρόν*, *ffraeth*, 'eloquent, loquacious,' Ger. *sprechen*, O. Eng. *sprécan*, now *speak*.

G had the value of our modern *g*, which is never that of Eng. *j*. It had besides that of the corresponding spirant, as heard in some of the dialects of North Germany in such words as *sagen*, *lage*, and the like: possibly also that sometimes heard in the German words *liegen*, *degen*, and the like. To avoid mistakes I should further specify that the sounds I mean are those technically written y^2 and y^1 respectively by the German phonologist Brücke and his followers, and g^1 and *j* by Sievers in the *Bibliothek Indogermanischer Grammatiken* (Leipsic, 1876). That *g* between vowels or after *l*, *r* had been pretty generally reduced to a spirant in O. Welsh is rendered highly probable by the fact, that later it disappeared altogether in those positions, and that in the oldest manuscript Welsh it is sometimes written and sometimes omitted. Thus we have *telu* (for *teglu*), now *teulu*, 'a family,' as well as *nerthheint*, "armant," by the side of *scamnehgint*, "levant," all three in the Juvencus Codex; and *te* (in *dolte*), now *tai*, 'houses,' in-

stead of *teg*, the plural of *tig*, now *ty*, 'a house,' in the Capella Glosses, among which we meet also with *poulloraur*, a kind of collective plural explaining *pugillarem paginam*, and appearing without the *g* of the Latin *pugillares*, 'writing-tablets.' But in this last case it would perhaps be more correct to suppose that a *g* or *gh* ($=y^2 = \mathfrak{z}^1$) has become *u* just as we have had to point out instances of another *g* or *gh* ($=y^1 = j$) becoming *j* in such words as *arjan* and *Morjen*: for more instances of *u* for *g* see the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 193, iii. 87. *Gh* is actually once found so written in Ovid's *Art of Love*, namely, in *helghati*, "venare," for *helgha ti*, now *helja di*, *hela di*, or *hel di*, 'do thou hunt.' Mention has already been made of the spelling *helcha*, to which a kind of parallel is offered by the Latinised form *Pembrochia*, whence probably the English *Pembroke*: the O. Welsh must have been *Penbrog* or *Penbrogh*, which is now, of course, *Penfro*.

II. This was, no doubt, the representative of the aspirate in O. Welsh as it is in Mod. Welsh; but was it also used for *ch* in O. Welsh? We meet certainly with the words *hui* and *suh*, of which, however, the latter is Cornish, as it comes from the later Oxford Glosses: in the Juvenius Codex it is duly spelled *such*, "vomis," and as Cornish was in the habit later of eliding *h=ch*, it is not

at all certain that it was intended to pronounce *su**h* as if it had been written *such*. Then as to *hui*, the probability is that in O. Welsh it was pronounced with *h*, and that the latter has since been projected into *ch*, as the word is now *chwi*, 'you.' The reason for such a change would be the pneumatic pressure alluded to in connection with initial *gh* passing into *ch*. But *chwi*, for O. Welsh *hui*, is exceptional in that it belongs to all Wales, while in most other instances *chw* is confined to N. Wales, and *hw* holds its ground in S. Wales. Returning, then, to the use of *h* as the exponent of the aspirate in O. Welsh, I may here cite a remark made by Mr. Ellis in his work on Early English Pronunciation, ii. p. 598—it is to the following effect: "Uneducated speakers, especially when nervous, and anxious not to leave out an *h*, or when emphatic, introduce a marked *h* in places where it is not acknowledged in writing or in educated speech." Now this, especially the allusion to emphasis, although written with regard to the treatment of *h* in English, calls attention to a principle which has played a part of some importance in the formation of words in our own language, seeing that it loves to aspirate the accented vowel in the middle of a word, as for instance in *diháreb*, 'a proverb,' *diarhébol*, 'proverbial.' Some, it is true, wish to ignore this *h* in writing,

and believe it to be the outcome of a modern corruption; but that seems to be a mistake, for *cuinhaunt*, 'defleebunt,' *nerthheint*, "armant," *scamnegint*, "levant," are as old as the Juvencus Codex, and nobody perhaps would now object to *glanhau*, 'to cleanse,' *cyffawnhau*, 'to justify,' although the *h* in them also is merely the accessory of the stress-accent, while such words as *coffáu*, 'to call to memory,' are altogether left out of the reckoning, although their *ff* only stands for an earlier *fh*, so that *coffáu* represents *cofháu*. The case is the same where the accent has since retreated, as when we have *cóffa* instead of *coffáu*, or *llóffa*, 'to pick up with the hand, to glean,' for *llof-há*, from *llof*=*llaw*, 'hand,' as in *llofrudd*, also *llawrudd*, 'a murderer,' literally 'red-handed.' Still older, perhaps, is the case of *pedol*, 'a horseshoe,' from the Latin *pedális*, 'a slipper,' which appears in the Welsh of the 12th century as *pedhaul*, that is, *ped-hául*, whence later *petaul* and *pedol*. By the side of *pedol* may be placed *paradmys*, 'paradise,' which in that case cannot be derived from *παράδεισος*, but from a Latin *paradísus*, if the latter may be supposed to have been pronounced *paradéisus* by those from whom the Welsh borrowed the word. But for the *h* evolved by the accent, we should now have not *pedol* and *paradmys*, but *peddol* and *paraddmys*. And it is as the accompaniment of the stress-accent

that I would regard the aspirate in the following words :—*Casulheticc*, “penulata,” in the Capella Glosses, where we have also *ellesheticion*, “mela,” where the writer had perhaps at first intended only to write *elleshetic*, and afterwards added a syllable on finding that *mela* was plural—at any rate that this enigmatic word was accented *elleshéticion* is in the highest degree improbable. The Juvenicus Codex has *crummanhuo*, “scropibus,” *ceroenhou*, “dolea” (which suggests that plurals in *ou* were formerly oxytones), and a passive plural *planthonnor*, “fodientur,” as well as the *cuinhaunt*, *nertkhheint*, *scamnehgint* already mentioned. Among the Ovid Glosses we have *guorunhetic*, “arguto.” The later Oxford Codex (Cornish) offers us *brachaut* (= *brac-háut*) as well as *bracaut*, “mulsum,” and *hinham*, ‘oldest.’ The effects of the same accentuation is, perhaps, to be traced in the *y* of its Mod. Welsh equivalent *hynaf*, as well as in the surd mutes of the degrees of such adjectives as *teg*, ‘fair :’ at any rate, until a better explanation offers itself, I would regard *teced*, ‘as fair,’ *tecach*, ‘fairer,’ *tecaf*, ‘fairest,’ as standing for *teg-hédr*, *teg-hách*, *teg-háf*, though the latter do not occur, and the former are only known in Mod. Welsh as paroxytones. It is in the same way, no doubt, forms of the so-called future perfect should be analysed, such as *gnypo*, (‘that he) may know,’

and *bythoch* or *bothoch*, in books *byddoch*, ('that you) may be.' Among O. Welsh words which have never been very satisfactory explained, and some of which may contain an *h* of the origin here indicated, may be mentioned *anbithaul*, *bemhed*, *diguormechis*, *nemhe*, *roenhof*.

In late Latin it was not unusual to write *Ihesu* for *Iesu*, *controversihis* for *controversiis*, and the like. The same expedient was adopted in the Cornish Glosses in such forms as *bahell*, "securis" (but *laubael*, 'a hand-hatchet'), later Cornish *boell*, Mod. Welsh *bwyall*, 'an axe;' *delehid*, 'a door-fastening,' Welsh *dylaith*; *guillihim*, "forceps," Welsh *gnellaiif*, 'shears;' and *gurehic*, 'a woman,' Welsh *gwraig*. In instances of this class the *h* was probably quiescent, but its use was by no means confined to O. Cornish, for we find *immotihiou*, "gesticulationes," in the Capella Glosses, and *Juthahelo* (elsewhere *Judhail*, *Ithael Ithel*) on a cross at Llantwit Major in Glamorgan: the same abuse of the letter *h* is also abundantly illustrated in the Venedotian versions of the Laws of Wales. And now we may attack some of the Breton forms in the Euty chius Glosses, such as *mergidhaham*, "evanesco." Here the first *h* seems to be the accompaniment of the accent, while the second looks as if it had been intended to stand between the two *a*'s after the elision of the *g*,

which must have belonged to the word in an earlier form *mergidhagam*, with which one may compare the O. Welsh *scamnhegint*, "levant," later *yscaphneynt*; or else the pronunciation intended was *mergidhām*, with a long and, perhaps, jerked or perispomenon. The other instances in the manuscript in question appear with only one of the two *h*'s: thus *etncoilhaam*, "auspicio auspex," *lemhaam*, "acuo," but *datolaham*, 'I select.'

With a few reservations, already indicated, one may say that the best collections of O. Welsh words, namely, the glosses on Martianus Capella and those in the Juvenius Codex, are on the whole accurate as far as concerns the letter *h*: the latter, it is true, shows *h* once misplaced in *hirunn*, for *irhunn*, now *yr hwn*, 'who,' and once omitted in *anter* for *hanter*, 'half.' But the writers of the glosses in the other codices, besides indulging in an occasional *heitham* (for *eitham*, now *eithaf*, 'utmost'), which seems to point to the Gwentian dialect of parts of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire where no *h* is now pronounced by the uneducated, either in Welsh or English, unless it be in the wrong place, show a decided objection to beginning certain particles with vowels: thus they write mostly, but not exclusively, *ha* for the expletive *a* before verbs; *ha*, *hac*, for *a*, *ac*, 'and, with'—the *h* is still written

in Breton; *hai* for *a'i*, 'and his;' *ham* for *a'm*, 'and my;' *hi* for *i*, 'his, her;' *hin* for *in*, now *yn*, 'in;' *ho* for *o*, 'from;' *hor* for *o'r*, 'from the.' How they arrived at the idea of adorning these monosyllables with an *h*, a habit which extended itself even more indiscriminately in O. Irish, I cannot guess, unless it was the result of being used to write *h*, after it had ceased to be heard, in the frequently-recurring Latin words *hic*, *hæc*, *hoc*, and the forms immediately connected with them.

I. This letter stood in O. Welsh as in Mod. Welsh both for the vowel *i* and the semi-vowel, which, for the sake of distinction, is here written *j*. In one instance, *damcirqhineat*, "demorator," in the Capella Glosses, we have *eat* substituted, in Old English fashion, for *iat*, that is, *jat*. At any rate there is no reason to think that the termination in question formed two syllables then any more than its modern representative *jad* does in our own day. One cannot be certain that the *e* in the Latin word *dolea*, for *dolia*, in the Juvencus Codex, is due to the same influence, for *dolea* is known to occur elsewhere; but no doubt attaches to *Margeteud* for *Margetjud*, now *Meredudd*, on the Carew Cross in Pembrokeshire.

'*L*, *ll*. O. Welsh *l* had probably the same sound which it has still, but in the former it is probable that it admitted of being aspirated when

it occurred as an initial or in contact with a preceding *n* and, possibly, *r*: at any rate, that seems to have been the case in O. Cornish, and I am inclined to think O. Welsh followed suit, though it is the equivalent of *ll*, and not *lh*, that we seem to have in the Capella gloss *mellhionou*, "violae," Mod. Welsh *meillhon*, 'clover, trefoil.' In O. Cornish *lt* had become *llt*, and the *t* had been assimilated, as proved by such forms as *cellell* from *cuteillus*, Mod. Welsh *cylllell*, 'a knife,' with which compare the French *couteau*: similarly O. Cornish *elin*, "novacula," stands for *ellin*, Mod. Welsh *ellyn*, 'a razor,' Irish *altan*. But besides these O. Cornish had initial *hl* as in *hloimol*, "glomerarium," and we have probably the same *hl* or *lh* in *ehnlinn*, which I take to mean *enhlhinn*: the Mod. Welsh is *enllyn*, already alluded to. If O. Welsh as well as O. Cornish had both *ll* and *lh*, then it follows that *ll* has since extended its domain in Welsh at the expense of *lh*, which is unknown in the language now, excepting perhaps when *yn mha le*, 'in quo loco? where?' is dialectically cut down into *ymhlé? mhlé? or hle?* which is also liable to become *lle*. That the spirant surd which we write *ll* existed in O. Welsh, has been shown in a former lecture; but it is probable that it was confined to words in which it represented earlier *l-l*, or where it preceded *t*. In the latter

Q



combination it was perhaps always written *ll*, as that could not lead to any confusion, and as *llt* wanted etymological support: I can recall only one instance in point in O. Welsh, *guogaltou*, "fulcris," which occurs in the Capella Glosses. But confusion might arise if *ll* and *l* between vowels or at the end of a word were not distinguished in writing; accordingly our authorities are as a rule accurate in this respect, with the exception of the Oxford Cornish Glosses, where about one-third of the instances lack an *l* each, and that of the stanzas beginning with *Niguorcosam* in the Juvenius Codex: in them no consonant is doubled. Thus they offer us *calaur* for *callaur*, *nouel* for *nouell*, *patel* for *patell*, and, to rhyme with the latter, a conjectural *canel* for *canell*,^x possibly of the same origin as the French *cannelle*, 'cinnamon:' irrespective of this the number of the loan-words in these stanzas is remarkable.

M had probably the same value as at present. In one instance, *dauu*, "cliens," in the Ovid Glosses, it seems to have been reduced to *v*, that is *dauu* is to be read *dauv*, possibly with a nasal twang imparted, as in Breton and Irish, to the vowel by the *m* before it passed into *v*; but, whether or no, the nasal is lost to Mod. Welsh. The modern forms of the word are *dam*, 'a son-in-law,' plural *danon*, but also *dawf*, plural

doffon, which is not to be confounded with *doffon* the plural of *dof*, 'tame;' for the latter implies an earlier *döm-*, Aryan *dām-*, while *daw*, *dawf* stands for *dām-* of the same origin as the Sanskrit forms *dāmd*, *-dāma*, *dāman*, 'a band, bond, fetter, tie.' This enables one to account for what would now appear a curious use of the word *daw*, in *Brut y Tyrysogion* (London, 1860), p. 118,^x where we meet with the words *y daw gan y chwaer*, or, as we now write, *ei ddam gan ei chwaer*, 'his connection by his sister,' that is in other words 'his brother-in-law:' compare the Ger. *schnur*, 'a cord, twine, tie,' and *schnur*, 'a daughter-in-law,' which glottologists, it is true, are in the habit of regarding, for reasons not very evident to me, as in no way connected. So much of the word *daw*: my account of its origin in Kuhn's *Beitraege*, vii. p. 231, is utterly wrong. Whether the *u* of O. Welsh *anu* or *enu*, now *enw*, 'a name,' was arrived at by reducing *m* into a nasal vowel, or by an exceptional substitution of *w* for *m*, is by no means clear: the Irish forms corresponding to O. Welsh *anu*, plural *enucin* are *anm*, plural *anmann*.

Ng, in O. Welsh, as in Mod. Welsh, represented the guttural nasal. The digraph got this value all the more firmly attached to it when, in the course of phonetic decay, *nd*, *mb* became *nn*, *mm*, and *ng* or *ng-g* in the same way lost its mute.

Previously the guttural nasal was mostly represented by the *n* in *ng*, and so it continued in *nc*. You will remember, however, our meeting with *Evolenggi* and *Tuncetace* in surveying the previous period. As a matter of writing the *n* is not always found expressed at all in O. Welsh: thus we meet with *cibracma* in an entry in the Lichfield Gospel for *cibrancma*, which probably meant 'a place of battle,' from *cibranc*, now *cyfranc*, 'a battle;' and in the Cornish Glosses we have *torcigel*, "ventris lora," for *torcingel*. This would seem to have originated in the habit of saving trouble in writing by omitting one or more letters in a word, and indicating the place of the omission by a touch of the pen above the line: of course the latter was not infrequently forgotten by careless writers, and, in the case of Welsh *ng*, this became, perhaps on the whole, the custom; for when original *g* non-initial regularly disappeared, and when *c* had as yet not been commonly reduced to *g*, no great confusion could arise from writing *g* for *ng*. It is thus that *g* is also to be read in the Luxembourg Folio, which shows no *ng* at all, in the words *drog*, "factionem," *mogou*, "comas," *rogedou*, "orgiis," *igueltiocion*, "in fenosa." *Drog* also occurs there written *drogn*, where the influence is visible of *gn*, pronounced *ngn* in late Latin in such words as *mag-*

nus, *signum*, and the like ; in fact, we have *signo* written *singno* on the cross on Caldy Island. But as to the habit of writing *g* for *ng*, it was once so common, that one or two words of learned borrowing from Latin must have been permanently misread : I allude to the Latin *flagellum*, which the Welsh treated as *flangellum*, and thence derived the modern forms *flangell*, 'a scourge or whip ;' another of the same kind was *legio*, treated as *lengio*, whence our Biblical *lleng*, 'a legion.' This was, of course, impossible in the familiar name *Castra legionum*, which duly became *Caerlleon*, 'Chester, Caerleon ;' we have also places called *Carreg y Lleon* and *Hafod y Lleon* in the neighbourhood of Bettws y Coed.

Ph had the same sound as at present, but it seems to have been rarely used, *f* being preferred. In a few instances *p* is written for *ph*, as in the name *Gripiud*, for *Griphjud*, now *Gruffudd*, 'Griffith,' in the Lichfield Gospel.

R had no doubt the sounds of our *r* and of our *rh* initial or following *n*, and the habit of writing *rh* as if it were simply *r* will explain the spelling of *Hir-hoidl*, as *Hiroidil* in the Gwnnws inscription, which must be reckoned as belonging to this period. The earliest written evidence to the existence of initial *rh* is perhaps the name *Hrís* in the Saxon Chronicle (in a manuscript marked *Cott*.

Tiber. B. r. in the Master of the Rolls' edition) under the year 1052. In O. Welsh *Rhys* is written *Ris* and *Res*, but that the pronunciation of the initial is correctly given in the O. English spelling cannot for a moment be doubted; for O. English *hl* and *hr* initial had probably the same sound as in Mod. Icelandic, and I fail to detect any difference between Icelandic *hr* and our *rh*: my Icelandic friends can pronounce the consonants in my name just as natives of North Wales do.

U represented, besides the vowel *u*, also the semi-vowel which we write and sound like English *w*, as in *gwyn*, 'white,' and *nyneb*, 'face.' In a few instances it represents *v*, as we have already noticed in connection with the letter *m*.

Before leaving the consonants it should be mentioned that in the Capella Glosses not only *m*, *n*, *r*, *s* are frequently doubled, but also the mutes *c*, *t*, *p*, especially when they happen to be final. *Nepp* and *hepp*, now *nēb*, 'any, anybody,' and *hēb* or *ēb*, 'quoth,' were alluded to in a former lecture, and to them I should have added Cormac's *bracc*, as proving, beyond doubt, that *brāc* was the pronunciation in O. Welsh of the word which we now write *brag*, 'malt,' and pronounce *brāg*.

In speaking of the vowels as they appear in writing, you will have to bear in mind that their sounds have undergone modifications, in point of quantity, depending on the nature of the consonants immediately following them. With this reserve you may, on the whole, regard O. Welsh *a, e, i, o, ũ* as pronounced like our modern *a, e, i, o, w*. Among the points which require to be dealt with a little more in detail are the following:—(1.) O. Welsh *ĩ* would seem to have had, as far as concerns quality, the same sound as our *y* in *byr*, ‘short,’ and *dyn*, ‘man.’ This sound of *ĩ* may, for the sake of distinction, be called broad *i*, and it would appear to have been hardly such as could be easily distinguished from that of *ě* and *ĩ* already noticed as sometimes indiscriminately written in inscriptions of the Brit-Welsh period. Hence, perhaps, it is, that it was written in O. Welsh not only *i* but also *e*, as, for instance, in the prefix *cet*, now *cyd*, in the Juvenius Codex in the stanzas beginning with *Niguor-cosam*; *prem*, now *pryf*, ‘a worm,’ in Cormac’s Glossary; *Res patres*, for the genitives *Ris patris*, ‘of his father Rhys,’ and *speretus* on a stone at Llantwit Major. With *Res patres* compare what was said in reference to *cives* for *civis*. Besides *speretus* we have also *speritus*, namely on a stone at Merthyr Mawr; both seem to be the echo of

a Latin pronunciation continued from Roman times. Lastly, it is to be noticed that the Bretons continue to write *e* where we use *y*, pronounced like our *u* or German *ü*.

(2.) While the broad *i* continued to be written *i* or *e*, it underwent, in unaccented syllables, a weakening into the obscure or neutral sound of our *y* when it is pronounced like *u* in the English word *but*; for *y* is regarded as standing alone among the letters of our Mod. Welsh alphabet in its representing two sounds, the one just referred to of English *u* in *but*, and that of Welsh *u* or German *ü*—the Welsh do not usually regard *i* vowel and *i* semi-vowel (that is *j*), or *u* vowel and *u* semi-vowel as distinct sounds. That the former, the obscure or neutral vowel, existed in O. Welsh, was proved by Professor Evander W. Evans in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* for 1874, pp. 113-116. As *o* and *u* were liable also to be reduced to the same obscure vowel sound, this led the way to the use of *i* or *e* for *ë*, *ĩ*, *ø*, *ũ* without distinction of origin, a confusion, however, which offers us a clue as to where the accent in O. Welsh was not. As to the alternative symbols *i*, *e*, the former is the one mostly used in the Capella Glosses as in *cimadas*, now *cyfaddas*, 'suitable,' *immottihou*, "gesticulationes," an enigmatical form nearly related, no doubt, to our modern *ymmod*, 'movement, stir,' and in the proclitics *in*,

now *yn* 'in,' *ir*, now *yr* 'the,' *is*, now *ys* 'is,' *mi*, now *fy* 'my.' So in the Juvenius Codex, the Lichfield Gospel, and the earlier Oxford Glosses. On the other hand, O. Cornish gives the preference to *e*, as in the following instances in the later Oxford Glosses: *cellell*, Mod. Welsh *cyllell*, 'a knife,' *creman*, Mod. W. *cryman*, 'a sickle,' O. Welsh *crummanhuo*, "scropibus," *delehid*, Mod. W. *dylaith*, 'a door-fastening,' *heuei*[*d*], Mod. W. *hymaith*, 'docile,' *modreped*, Mod. W. *modrybedd* (also *modravedd*), 'aunts,' *peteu*, Mod. W. *pydeu*, 'a pit,' from the Latin *puteus*, treated, it would seem, as though it had been accented *putéus*. But this use of *e* for the neutral or obscure vowel was by no means confined to O. Cornish, for we find it in that capacity frequently also in the Venedotian versions of the Laws of Wales. Lastly, it is curious to observe that in the two words in point in Cormac's Glossary the vowel in question is rendered by *ui*: I allude to *muin*, Mod. W. *fy*, 'my,' or *myn* (in oaths), and *cuisil*, Mod. W. *cysyl*, 'consilium,' and one may regard it as an instance of the same thing when Irish writers call *Mynyn*, or St. David's, *Kilmuine*.

(3.) However we have an exception to the obscuring of *ø* or *ǔ* into *i* in O. Welsh in the enigmatic gloss *crummanhuo* already cited from the Juvenius Codex, and a good many more in the names in the *Liber Landavensis*, and other old manuscripts,

such as *Congual*, now *Cynnal*, *Dubricius*, in Mod. Welsh *Dyfrig*, *Houel*, now *Hymel*, *Rutegyrn*, later *Rhydeyrn*. Add to this that Cormac always calls the Welsh language *Combrec*, or more correctly *Combréc*, never *Cimbrec*. But it is in O. Breton that we find the retention of the *o* to be the rule: witness the prefixes *com*, *do*, *ho*, *ro*, which are in Mod. Welsh *cyf*, *dy*, *hy*, *rhy*, as for instance in *comtoou*, “stemicamina” (but *cun* in *cuntullet*, “collegio”), *dodocetic*, “inlatam,” *doguoren-niam*, “perfundo” (compare our modern *dyödddef* ‘to suffer’), *holeu*[] “canori[ca],” *roluncas*, “guturicavit.” These instances, to which others might be added, come from the Luxembourg Fragment, which supplies also the following:—*bodin*, Mod. Welsh *byddin*, ‘an army,’ *cronion*, Mod. W. *crynjon*, ‘round, globular,’ *euonoc*, Mod. W. *emynog*, ‘foamy,’ *golbinoc*, Mod. W. *gylfinoğ*, ‘having a beak or bill,’ from *gylfin*, *gylf*, ‘a beak,’ O. Welsh *gilbin*, “acumine,” O. Cornish *gilb*, “foratorium,” Irish *gulba*. In Mod. Breton the prefixes *com*, *ho*, *ro* are *kéo*, *hé*, *ré*, and the commencement of the change may be traced even in O. Breton, namely, in the Euty chius gloss *helabar*, Mod. Welsh *hylafar*, ‘of fluent speech,’ O. Irish *sulbair*. In most of these instances the original vowel seems to have been *u*, which was liable to be modified into *o*, and of the existence of the latter in O.

Welsh with its sound unobscured we have one indubitable item of evidence: I allude to the word *do*, meaning 'yes' in connection with the past, as when we say: *A fu efe yma? Do*, "Has he been here? Yes." Here the answer *do* is elliptical, standing for what must once have been *dobu*, which would now be *dyfu*, had it not at an early date become the rule to omit the verb and retain the particle. Having thus become an independent word, doing duty as it were for an entire sentence, it was of course proof against any further phonetic decay, whereas in those cases where it still served as a prefix it eventually yielded that one which we write *dy*. It is possible that we have the still earlier form in the Capella Gloss *dubeneticion*, "exsectis," the plural of *dubenetic* in Mod. Welsh *dyfynedig*, 'cut up, dissected,' and not, as might be expected, *dyfynedig*, which only means 'cited, summoned': it is right, however, to state that considerable confusion as to the use of the prefixes *dy* and *di* prevails in Mod. Welsh. O. Welsh *du-*, our *do* 'yes,' the prefix *dy*, and O. Welsh *di*, 'to,' which has, through an intermediate *ddi*, matched in Cornish by *dhi* 'to,' yielded our smooth-worn *i* 'to,'—all these forms on the one hand, and the Irish preposition *du*, *do*, 'to,' on the other, point to a common Celtic *du* of the same origin as the English *to*, Ger. *zu*, which, like the Welsh *dy-*, is extensively used as a prefix.

(4.) It is hardly probable that the neutral vowel written *i* in O. Welsh and *e* in O. Cornish differed much in quality from what must have been the sound of the irrational vowel, whereby is meant a vowel which is metrically of no account, as, for instance, in *Hiroidil* for *Hirhoidl* on the Gwnnws Cross: of course the irrational vowel, when it happened to be pronounced a little more distinctly, was always liable to echo the sound of a neighbouring vowel as in this instance and in the O. Welsh Capella Gloss *guocelesetice*, "titillata," now *gogleisjedig*, 'tickled,' the Juvenius gloss *lobur*, "anhela," now *llofr*, the feminine of *llwfr*, 'cowardly, not brave,' and Cormac's *dobar* and *doborci* now *dwfr*, 'water,' and *dyfrgi*, 'a water-dog, i.e., an otter.' In S. Wales this is a rule at the present day, and the irrational vowel is fully pronounced like any other vowel, such words as *llafn*, 'a blade,' *cefn*, 'the back,' *dwfn*, 'deep,' feminine *dofn*, being made into *llafan*, *cefen*, *dwfron*, and *dofon*. But it was the rule not to write the irrational vowel in O. Welsh and O. Cornish: we have, however, a few exceptions, such as the following: in Cornish it is written *e* in *tarater*, Mod. Welsh *taradr*, 'an auger or borer,' from the late Latin *taratrum*, "terebra" and in *cepister* "camum," Mod. Welsh *cebystr* 'a halter,' from Latin *capistrum*; in the O. Welsh in the Juvenius Codex it is

i in *guichir*, "effrenus" (once also *guichr*, "effera," and so in Nemnivus's Alphabet), Mod. Welsh *gmychr*, 'valiant,' shortened and desynonymized into *gmych*, 'brave, good,' in *centhiliat* (also *centhiliat*), "canorum," which would now be *cethliad*, 'a singer,' but I do not know the word, and in *lestir* (written several times *lestr* in the Capella Glosses), now *llestr*, 'a vessel;' and so in the Ovid gloss *ætinet*, which would now be *edned*, but that *edn* now makes in the plural *ednod*, 'birds or any winged things.' There was, further, not much difference probably between the irrational vowel and the thematic or connecting vowel in compounds: so, as the former was not usually written, it would be vain to expect to find the latter treated differently, and it is worth noticing that it is the Juvenicus Codex which gives us *guichir*, *centhiliat*, *lestir*, and *lobur*, that also treats us to an interesting instance of the connecting vowel exceptionally attested in *litimaur* "frequens."

(5.) O. Welsh *ū* was probably nearly as narrow in sound as our modern *u*, and must have very closely resembled the sound of broad *ī*, but their difference of quantity might have prevented any confusion between them, but the reorganisation of the Welsh vowel system made narrow *ū* liable to be shortened, and broad *ī* liable to be lengthened. Thus narrow *u* (short) and

broad *i* might be possibly confounded with one another, or narrow *ū* with broad *i* (long). In Mediæval and Modern Welsh there is no lack of such cases, and one or two are to be found in the glosses: thus the Juvençus gloss *scipaur*, "horrea" is now *yscubor*, 'a barn,' and the Capella gloss *crun-nolunou*, "orbiculata," gives us *olunou*, "wheels," the singular of which is written *olin*, "rota," in the Ovid Glosses—the modern form *olwyn* coincides with neither. On the other hand, the tract on weights and measures in the earlier Oxford Codex gives us our *pump*, 'five,' and *pummed*, 'fifth,' in the form of *pimp* and *pimphet* with the *i* retained, to which they had an etymological right not to be invalidated by the O. Irish form of the same numeral, namely, *cóic*, where the lengthening of the diphthong is due to the suppression of the *násal*, and the *o* is a relic of the *v* of the common Celtic form which must have been *qvingvin* or *qvingven*. At first sight Gaulish would seem to show a similar trace of the *v* retained as *o* or *u* in the well-authenticated *Poeninus* and *Puoeninus* of the numerous votive tablets nailed in old times to the walls of the Alpine temple of the deity *Penn* or Jupiter *Poeninus* (*Revue Celtique*, iii. 3), whence we might be tempted to conclude the Celtic stem implied by the forms *Poeninus*, *Penninus* and *Πεννο-ουινδος*, the Early Welsh *Qven-*

vendani, and our modern *pen*, 'a head or top,' O. Ir. *cenn*, to have been *qvenn*-, but the form *Puoeninus* compels one to assume the Gaulish to have been, at least dialectically, a dissyllable *pu-énn*- from a common Celtic *qvū-énn*- representing a præ-Celtic *qvup-énn*- or *qvapanja-s* of the same origin as Lat. *caput* (for *cvaput* like *canis* for *cvanis*), Gothic *haub-ith*, Mod. H. Ger. *haup-t*, O. Eng. *heáf-od*, *heáf-d*, Mod. Eng. *hea-d*: besides *qvup-énn*-, the Kymry must have had a diminutive *qvū(p)-íc*-, *qvū-íc*-, *qu-íc*, *qvíc*-, which has become our modern feminine *pig*, 'a point,' and in Early Welsh we seem to detect it in the proper name *Qvici* referred to in another lecture. But to return to *u* and broad *i*, there can be no doubt as to their having had nearly the same sound in O. Welsh, but how soon they became identical I am unable to say: in Mod. Welsh at any rate there is no difference between *u* and one of the sounds (that of broad *i*) now written *y*, so that *hun*, 'a sleep,' and *hyn*, 'older,' cannot any longer be distinguished in pronunciation, and the words *eſe a lysg y cerbydau a than* ('he burneth the chariot in the fire:' Psalm xli. 9) have ere now been cited as explicitly foretelling the invention of locomotive steam-engines.

As to the diphthongs of O. Welsh, it is probable that *ai*, *ei*, *eu*, *iu*, *ui* had much the same

sound as our modern *ai*, *ei*, *em*, *iv*, *my*, though it is to be remembered that our *ai* and *ei* are not the continuators of O. Welsh *ai* and *ei*, these last being now *ae* and *ai* respectively in monosyllables. O. Welsh *ou* is now *eu* and *au*, both in books and the pronunciation prevalent in N. Wales, but in the Dimetian and Gwentian dialects of S. Wales, it is frequently *ou* with *u* as narrow as a Northwalian *u*, or even *i*, as, for instance, in *dou*, 'two,' and *houl*, 'sun,' for *dau* and *haul*. What, then, was the value of O. Welsh *ou*? We have no means, as far as I know, of ascertaining, but I am inclined to think that it was not *om*, but a nearer approach to the Dimetian *ou* of the present day. The O. Welsh diphthong *au* still remains to be noticed. In our pronunciation of its modern representative *aw*, both *a* and *w* are distinctly and clearly heard, but the O. Welsh pronunciation was probably *âw*, in which the *w* was far less prominent. This would come very near the guttural pronunciation of *â* in Mod. Irish, and would probably account for the O. Welsh *braut*, 'judgment,' taking the form *brâth* or *braath* in Cormac's Glossary, where we meet also with the O. Welsh *bracaut*, 'bragget,' in the form *braccat*—the author probably meant *braccât*. But we dare not use here the naturalisation of the same word in Irish in the form *brocoit*, later *brogôid* (= *braccôiti*), or

the corruption of an earlier form of *braut* into *broth* (given also as *brot*) in the traditional form of St. Patrick's oath, *muin doiu braut*: both date, in all probability, too early for our purpose, and should rather be placed by the side of Bede's *Dinoot*, noticed in a former lecture. O. Cornish had *au* as in O. Welsh, but it is remarkable that the Breton Glosses in the Luxembourg Folio show no trace of it, but always *o*, even where the diphthong appears later; whence it seems that the glosses in question were compiled at a time when the diphthongisation was incomplete or not distinctly heard in Breton: perhaps something is also due to the orthographical conservatism of the scribe. However, we find an instance in the Eutychius Glosses in the monosyllable *laur*, "solum," which is in Mod. Breton *leür*, Mod. Welsh *llawr*, Irish *lár*, Eng. *floor*; and the same manuscript at first sight appears to offer us an instance also of *eû*, the later form of Breton *au*, in the gloss, *eunt*, "æquus." But this is not conclusive, as the modern form of the word is *éun* or *eun*, which Le Gonidec explains as meaning: "Droit, qui n'est ni courbe, ni penché; juste; équitable; direct; directement; tout droit," while the Mod. Welsh is *jawn*, 'right, correct,' whence *unjawn*, 'straight,' and *jawnder*, 'equity, justice,' all of which would find their explanation in a præ-

Celtic form *ipána* or *apána* of the same origin as Eng. *even*, Ger. *eben*, Gothic, *ibns*, *πεδινός*, *ibnasus*, *ισόρης*.

We have already had various occasions to notice the influence of English on Welsh orthography, but the advent of the Normans into Wales may be said to mark an era in its history. Among other things, the old Kymric style of writing was given up at the end of the 11th century in favour of another more in harmony with a Norman model: Mr. Bradshaw, University Librarian, Cambridge, kindly informs me that one of the last instances known of the use of the Kymric handwriting in Wales is a copy of St. Augustine *De Trinitate*, written by Johannes, son of Sulgen, Bishop of St. David's, and brother of Ricemarch, also Bishop of St. David's—the copy bears evidence to its having been made at various times between the years 1079 and 1089. Other instances of Norman and English influence will appear as we go through the alphabet, noticing those letters which require it:—

C, k. *C* and *k*, which was introduced from England, came to be used promiscuously, and continued so down to the latter part of the 16th century.

D, t, th. These continued to be used indiscriminately in the same confused manner as in *O*.

Welsh, and *dh*, which was introduced probably for *ð*, only served to enhance the confusion. But *dh* never appears to have gained a firm footing in Welsh any more than in English: had it been adopted in English, Welsh would probably have followed suit. As far as this state of the orthography may be said to have simplified itself, the result, to judge by the old manuscripts extant, was to use *t*, *d*, *th* to represent the sounds which we write so still, and to express *ð* by means of *d* or *t*: on the whole, *d* seems to have been more generally employed in this last capacity than *t*, and even in manuscripts where *t* for *ð* is the rule, we find *d* = *ð* occasionally cropping up. At length the difficulty as to a symbol for *ð* was met by the awkward expedient of writing it *dd*, to which the false analogy of *ll* and *ff* may have led the way. Zeuss in the *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 139, notices the use of *dd* as early as the 14th century, and instances from manuscripts which are perhaps not very much later, occur in documents printed in the first volume of Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 1869). Thus in a form of agreement made between Richard, Bishop of Bangor, and Llywelyn, Prince of Wales, by Anian, Bishop of St. Asaph, and others as arbiters in the year 1261, we have

(p. 491) *Keymannedd*, "habitatio," which can, however, only be explained on the supposition that it is the result of a copyist mixing up an earlier *kerannedd* with a later and marginal spelling *kyvannedd*; also (p. 550), in a grant by Edward I. to Bishop Anian of Bangor and the *Offeyriat Teulu* in the year 1283, we have *Penmynydd* so given, and in a grant by him of the patronage of Rhuddlan to the Bishop of St. Asaph and his successors in the year 1284, Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs give (p. 580) Rhuddlan as spelled once *Ruddlan*, and once *Ruthlan*. It is by no means improbable that *dd* had been some time in vogue among the Welsh before it could frequently force its way into official documents. But it does not, however, seem to have got into general use before the latter part of the 15th century, or the beginning of the 16th. About the middle of the latter century, William Salesbury regretted to find it too firmly established to be superseded by *dh*, and about the same time Griffith Roberts, who published his Welsh Grammar, the first ever printed, at Milan in 1567, acknowledges that the usual spelling was *dd*, though he made use of *d* with a point underneath it, an expedient he employed also in the case of *ll* and *m*.

F for *v*, and *ff* for *ph* were used in Mediæval Welsh much the same as they are now, excepting

that in the Black Book of the 12th century, *ff* was also frequently used for *f* = *v*. However the respective domains of *ff* and *ph* were by no means accurately defined, and *u* (also *v* and *w*) continued to be optionally used instead of *f* = *v*. Here it may be asked how *f* came at all to be used to represent the sound written *v* in English. The answer which at once suggests itself is that *f* = *ph* was reduced in the course of phonetic decay to the sound of *v*, while the old symbol was retained unchanged: in that way *v* would come to be considered as having the value of *f*. In Welsh, however, such a reduction is conspicuous by its absence, while in the Teutonic languages and, among them, in English, the history of *f* and that of *v* are, so to say, inseparable: so we turn to English for our answer. Now O. English words like *heafod*, 'head,' *heofon*, 'heaven,' *næfre*, 'never,' had their *f* pronounced *v*, and sometimes it was also written *u* or *v*, and not *f*. Further, we are told by Mr. Ellis (*Early Eng. Pro.*, ii. 572) that, in English manuscripts of the 13th century and later, *ff* was used for the sound of *ph*, and he gives extracts from Orrmin dating from the end of the 12th century. From the latter it is clear that he observed the same sort of distinction between *f* and *ff* as we do in Welsh: his *f* between vowels was mostly *v*, while his *ff* was, of course, *f* = *ph*. Neither is it altogether

irrelevant that the pronunciation of *f* as *v* was most prevalent in the West of England, and that it survives extensively in Somerset and Devon. Salesbury noticed it in his time; his words are: "I my selfe haue heard Englysh men in some countries of England sound *f*, euen as we sound it in Welsh. For I haue marked their maner of pronounciation, and specialle in soundyng these woordes: voure, viue, disfigure, vish, vox: where they would say, foure, fiue, disfigure, fysh, fox," &c. (Ellis's *Early Eng. Pro.*, iii. 752). In the Black Book, of the 12th century, and in the Book of Aneurin, partly of the 13th century, *f* initial did duty for the sound of *ph* and between vowels for that or *v*, but when a little more consistency became the rule, *ph* was usually confined to the mutation of *p*, which we still so write, while the same sound was elsewhere written *ff*, not excepting when it happened to begin a word. How early *ff* began to be used as an initial in Welsh I cannot say, but it appears in that capacity in the Book of Taliessin of the 14th century. That the Welsh should have so used it at all is not surprising, seeing that they had before them the analogous case of *ll*, as well as probably the very same use of *ff* in English, which would explain how it came to be sometimes regarded as a mere equivalent for a capital *F*.

Later we find Salesbury also treating *R* and *rr* in the same way ; and perhaps in some of the proper names written with *ff*, such as *Ffoulkes*, *Ffrench*, and the like, the digraph is neither Welsh nor modern. It is worth adding that English manuscripts of the 13th and the 14th century show instances of *ss*, initial as well as medial, for *sh*, and that Welsh *dd* has also been traced back into the 14th century.

G continued to be written for *g* and very commonly for *ng*: so *ngc* was reduced in writing to *gc* or *gh* as in *freigh* for *Ffreinge*, 'Frenchmen.' However the omission of the *n* does not seem to have ever been the invariable rule, and it reappears in the 15th century.

Ll medial remained in use as in O. Welsh, and not only that but it appears as an initial in the 12th century in the Black Book and the Venedotian *Laws of Wales*. This extension of the domain of *ll* took place possibly in consequence of a change of pronunciation, that is from initial *lh* to *ll*.

R and *rh* were used in Salesbury's time much in the same way as they are now. But how much earlier *rh* came into use I am unable to say. In North Wales *rr* and *R* were used for it, and Salesbury himself indulges in all three as the initials of Welsh words now written with *rh* only.

I, ý, y. In the latter part of the 11th century we find *ý* coming into optional use for *i* in the Welsh names in the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius, and in the oldest manuscript of the *Annales Cambriæ*; but in them it is all but confined to the diphthongs, especially *oy* and *ey* for *oi* and *ei*. This is as nearly as possible the case also with *ý* in the 13th century specimens of Norman French, published by Mr. Ellis in his *Early Eng. Pro.*, ii. pp. 434-6, 500-4. But in Welsh manuscripts of the 12th century *ý* knows no such limits, and here we discover a point of contact with English rather than Norman French. For in the earlier part of that period of Old English, which is commonly called Anglo-Saxon, *ý* was used to represent a sound which is supposed to have been nearly identical with that of French *u*, which is considerably broader than Mod. Welsh *u*; but the O. English vowel was gradually narrowed, which went so far that, as Mr. Ellis tells us (ii. 580), it was used from the 13th to the 16th century indiscriminately with *i* as of precisely the same meaning. Thus, at a certain stage in its history, it must have sounded precisely like one of the values of *i* in Old and early Mediæval Welsh, and this, I think, is the reason why its English symbol *ý* was so readily adopted by the Welsh. At first sight, however, its introduction

would seem to have only created more confusion than already existed, *y* and *i* being apparently used indiscriminately for all the four values of Welsh *i*. These last were—(1) the semi-vowel *j*; (2) the narrow *i*, formerly *ī*, as a rule, but liable, since the reorganisation of the Welsh vowel system, to become *ĩ*; (3) broad *i*, formerly always short, but liable since the reorganisation to become long in monosyllables; and (4) the neutral vowel sounded like *ũ* in the English word *but*. To pass by the Venedotian versions of the Laws of Wales in which *i* is not a favourite letter, and in which other peculiarities of orthography are noticeable, not to mention the fact that in the Record Office edition of them the manuscripts have been diligently mixed up instead of printed in parallel columns, the materials before us range from the end of the 11th century to the 14th, and ~~is~~ mostly contained in the Black Book, the Book of Aneurin, and that of Taliessin, as printed in the second volume of Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. Now a careful examination of these three books in which the confusion of *y* or *y* with *i* is at its worst, would, I am inclined to think, show that confusion to have never been complete: in a majority of instances *i* for *j* and for narrow *i* would seem to have held its ground against *y* or *y*, while *y* and *i* indiscriminately represented the broad *i* and the

are/

neutral vowel. This is on the whole the tendency of the spelling in the Red Book of Hergest, supposed to have been written at various times from the earlier part of the 14th to the middle of the 15th century, and it suggests beforehand the simplification which Welsh orthography eventually underwent in this particular, namely, the restriction of *i* to represent only *j* and the narrow *i*, and of *y* to stand only for the broad *i* (= *ü*) and the neutral vowel (= Eng. *ǔ*), the values which they still have. However it could hardly be called an accomplished fact till the 17th century, for in the 16th we still find rather a free use made of *y*, as for instance in some of Salesbury's writings. But the 17th century was just a time when the English limited their use of *y* (Ellis's *Early Eng. Pro.*, ii. 580), and on the whole there is little reason to doubt that the English confusion of *y* and *i* was one of the main causes of the spread and continuance of the same in Welsh, where there was, at any rate in the beginning, no cause for it: the English, on the other hand, had their historical excuse for it in the fact of their old *y* having in the course of phonetic decay got to be sounded like their *i*. Lastly, as to the point over the *y* it was usual in Old English and Norman French manuscripts, so we naturally find it in the Black Book of Carmarthen and the Book of Aneurin,

but we miss it in the Book of Taliessin and the Red Book of Hergest of the 14th and the 15th century, as well as in all later manuscripts.

U, v, w. In Old Welsh we found *u* representing Old Welsh *ū* and *u* (vowel and semivowel), but very rarely the sound of *v*, whereas in the Black Book this appears as one of its ordinary values. Add to this that the letter *v* comes in as a mere graphic variety of *u*: later another variety resembling *o* was used, especially in the Book of Taliessin and the Red Book. Further, *w* (written also *vv*) was introduced from English, though not in the time of Asser, who used it in the spelling of Welsh names in his life of Alfred. It appears in the Black Book for *v*, *ū*, and the semivowel, whereas in English it was eventually confined to the semivowel and the diphthongs. However Mr. Ellis prints *wde*, 'wood,' in the Cuckoo Song, dating from the year 1240 or thereabouts, and Chaucer has such forms as *milw*, 'willow,' *yolw*, 'yellow,' *sornw*, 'sorrow,' and *mornw*, 'morning.' In all the confusion already suggested *u* appears in the majority of instances to have retained the right of representing the sound of Old Welsh *ū*, as it still does, and by the end of the 15th century *w* occupied much the same position as at present, while *o* had gone out of use and the struggle between *v* and *f* for the

representation of the sound of *v* continued a good deal later.

We have now lamely got over the ground from the beginning of the 12th century to the 16th, and reached a period of considerable literary activity in Wales: some of that activity, you will find, was directed into the channel of Welsh grammar. Foremost among the Welshmen who demand our attention at this point is William Salesbury, who published, among other works, an improved edition in 1567 of his treatise entitled: "A playne and a familiar Introduction, teaching how to pronounce the letters in the Brytishe tongue, now commonly called Welshe, whereby an Englysh man shall not onely wyth ease reade the sayde tonge rightly; but marking the same wel, it shall be a meane for hym wyth one labour to attayne to the true pronounciation of other expedient and most excellent languages. Set forth by VV. Salesbury, 1550. And now 1567, perused and augmented by the same." The Welsh alphabet, as he there gives it, is the following:—A, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, h, i, k, l, ll, m, n; o, p, r, s, t, th, v, u, w, y. He sanctions the use of *c* and *k*: his *v* (also *vv*) answers the same purposes as ours, and his *u* as our *u*, excepting that he continued to use *u*, *v*, *f* loosely for the sound of *v*, our *f*. His uncertainties and inconsistencies were gradually eliminated

by the publication of Bishop Morgan's Bible in 1588, and of the Welsh Homilies in 1606: so when Dr. John Davies of Mallwyd came to publish his Welsh Grammar, which was printed in 1621 under the title (as given in the second edition of 1809) of "Antiquæ Linguæ Britannicæ Nunc Communiter Dictæ Cambro-Britannicæ, A Suis Cymræcæ, Vel Cambricæ, Ab Aliis Wallicæ, Rudimenta," he found in use the alphabet we still use: A, b, c, ch, d, dd, e, f, ff, g, ng, h, i, l, ll, m, n, o, p, ph, r, s, t, th, u, w, y. Here you will notice the exclusion of *k* and *v*, and the insertion of *ng*, not after *n*, but after *g*, which had so often done duty for it in the Middle Ages. In his grammar, as reproduced in the second edition, Dr Davies distinguishes between the two sounds of Welsh *y* by slightly varying the printed form of that letter; but that he confines to his alphabet, and the Welsh instances quoted in the course of that work.

Lastly, in 1707, Edward Llwyd published his *Archæologia Britannica*, a work devoted to the grammar and vocabulary of the Celtic languages, in which he makes use in his Welsh text of an alphabet of his own. In the latter he avails himself of the Irish *ð* for our *dd*; and that, formed more like a Greek *δ*, though not, I believe, borrowed from the Greek alphabet, is still in use among us, in writing Welsh, for the printed *dd*.

This is, perhaps, the only trace left in Mod. Welsh of the influence of the learned labours of the greatest philologist the Kymry can boast of.

Here as we have now come down to the last century, a word must be said of the letter *j*. In that century and the two preceding ones, it occurs as a mere graphic variety of *i*, especially when that letter happened to stand for the semivowel at the beginning of a word. But, on the whole, it does not seem to have been very consistently or extensively used, excepting in Biblical names such as *Jacob*, *Job*, *Joseph*, and the like, in which the character survives, while the fashion of trying to reproduce the English pronunciation has given it the value of *dsy*, and bequeathed to our Sunday schools such monstrosities as *Dsyacop*, *Dsyjob*, *Dsyoseph*. This unfortunate imitation of English, where it least deserved it, must have greatly disqualified the letter *j* for use as the representative of *i* semivowel, a capacity in which it is sorely missed by strangers desirous of learning to read Welsh: the analogous case of *w*, used for both vowel and semivowel, occasions them far less difficulty, as it does not occur so often.

This meagre account of the Welsh alphabet and spelling must be regarded as entirely tentative, nor would it be reasonable to expect anything very satisfactory on the subject, until all Welsh manuscripts dating after the end of the

10th century have been more carefully studied and chronologically arranged. As it is, one has to be content with a rough guess as to the date of the principal changes, which have taken place in Welsh spelling, without being always able to say what led to them or to give other details respecting them which it would be interesting to have. I have to add that most of these remarks had been put together before Mr. Bradshaw had convinced me by means of the palæographical evidence he adduces, that the Luxembourg Fragment and the Eutychius Glosses are of Breton origin, and not Welsh. It has not, however, been thought expedient to omit all reference to them, as they serve purposes of comparison between Old Welsh and Old Breton. For the same reason use has frequently been made of the later Oxford Glosses which are in Old Cornish. The fact of these three collections not being Welsh does not seriously diminish their value even for the student of that language, while it undoubtedly rids him of a good many difficulties which would remain puzzles and inconsistencies had he still to accept them as Welsh.

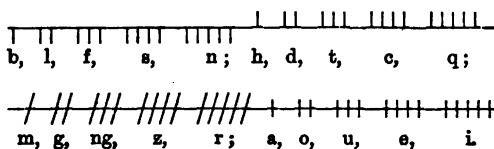
LECTURE VI.

"The circumstance, that genuine Ogham Inscriptions exist both in Ireland and Wales, which present grammatical forms agreeing with those of the Gaulish linguistic monuments, is enough to show that some of the Celts of these islands wrote their language before the 5th century, the time at which Christianity is supposed to have been introduced into Ireland."—WHITLEY STOKES.

As monuments in Ogam are known only in the British Isles, we seem to be warranted in provisionally regarding them as invented in them; but in which of them, in Great Britain or in Ireland? If we may venture to follow the supposed westward course of civilisation, the answer must be *in Great Britain*. And assuming that, one must admit that it was some time before the coming of the Romans, as it is highly improbable that after the introduction of the Roman alphabet into the island, another and a far clumsier one should not only have been invented, but brought into use from the Vale of Clwyd to the south of Devon; not to mention that in that case it would be hard to conceive how it came to

pass that it betrays no certain traces of Roman influence.

The Ogam, as given in Irish manuscripts of the Middle Ages, runs thus :—



Here the continuous line merely represents the edge or ridge of the stones on which the Ogams are found written; for as a rule they are not confined to one plane excepting when represented in manuscript. As to the values of the digits, the following points have to be noticed :—the presence of \perp , $///$, and $////$ in inscriptions cannot, unfortunately, be said to be a matter of certainty. There is, however, no reason to doubt the accuracy of Irish tradition in attributing $///$ the power of *ng*; but as to $////$, it is more commonly given as *st* (or *sd*) by our Irish authorities, which is, however, the result of the Irish habit of treating *z* as *st* in the Middle Ages and earlier; thus the letter itself is called *steta*, and such spellings as *Elistabeth* and *Stephyrus* for *Elizabeth* and *Zephyrus* are to be met with in Irish manuscripts.* So on the ground of tradition the conclusion seems warranted that the early value of $////$ was that of *z*. But where,

it may here be asked, would Irish or Welsh have occasion for a *z*? As it is a consonant not supposed to have belonged to the parent-speech whence the Celtic languages are derived, it can only be expected as a reduction or weakening of *s*. Clearly this is not to be looked for at the beginning of a word, and as a final the sibilant has completely disappeared in Early Welsh inscriptions, while in Irish ones it is sometime retained, sometimes not; thus we have *Decceddas* and *Deccedda*, but not *Decceddaz*. However, in one instance, beside *Dego*, a form is found to occur, which, according to one reading, would be *Digoz*, but according to another *Digos*. Perhaps on the whole the position of a final consonant is not the most favourable to the reduction of *s* into *z*, and we turn to try the position which is known to be such, namely, between two vowels. You will remember that while Gaulish is found in one or two instances to have retained the sibilant between vowels, the Goidelo-Kymric languages, as far back as they are known, show no trace of it. Now it is hardly in keeping with the teachings of phonology to think that the *s* was elided without having been first reduced to *z*. But this would imply a considerable length of time and ample scope for the use of the Ogam for *z*. Moreover, it would explain how it is that it ceased to be used and became a mere

matter of tradition, at the same time that it would confirm the view already stated as to the antiquity of the alphabet.

When Irish tradition ascribes ¹ the value of *h*, this also requires explanation. For in Irish *h* is mostly inorganic and devoid of all claim to be regarded as known to the language in its earlier stages. Turning to Welsh, where its footing is not so precarious, we find *h* to be of a threefold origin. (1.) It is evolved by the accent in the tone-syllable; this kind of *h* may be traced back into O. Welsh. (2.) Initial *h* for an earlier *s* may be traced back as far probably as the 6th century, but hardly further. (3.) But we are here only concerned with *h* for *ch*, and first of all, where that *ch* itself has replaced *cs*, reduced in Irish by assimilation into *ss*, *s*. The date of the change of *cs*, *ss*, into *ch* cannot be assigned, but it is probably anterior to the Roman occupation, as it never happens in words borrowed from Latin, such as *coes* 'leg,' *llaes* 'long, trailing,' and *pais* 'petticoat,' from *coxa*, *laxus*, and *peza* (*tunica*) respectively. Similarly the English, who, as West Saxons, must have first become known to our ancestors not later than the 6th century, are called not *Sachon* but *Saeson* or *Seison*. The change of *ch* into *h*, much better known in the Teutonic languages, would also seem to have begun

tolerably early in Welsh, as may be inferred from the fact that the *h* is not infrequently elided. Thus in the case of *dehau*, 'right, south,' we have also *dê*, and in S. Wales, *deche*, liable to become *dethe*, which may also be heard in N. Wales; in the case of *ëofn*, 'fearless,' we have, in S. Wales, *echon*, but *ehofn* or *ehon* I have never heard, though the former was usual at one time. All these forms stand for *ecs-omn* or *ecs-obn*, and the O. Irish form was *esomun*, with which the Gaulish name *Exobnus* or *Exomnus* has been equated: in other cases the prefix retains no trace of either *ch* or *h*; so *ëang*, 'spacious,' is the only form of that word now used. There is, then, reason to think that the leading value of ¹ was *ch*, a sound which may have dated from the Goidelo-Kymric period, in both Irish and Welsh, in words where Irish has *cht* matched in O. Welsh by *ith*, to which I have referred in another lecture; but as the sphere of usefulness of this character can never have been very large in Early Welsh, it is probable that it was the one used in writing, even in those cases where the pronunciation gradually passed into *h*. This acquisition of the two values of *ch* and *h* by the one Ogam ¹ is rendered almost certain by the fact that *ch* is found written *h* in inscriptions in Roman letters, as in *Broho* on a stone at Llandyssul, and *Brohomagli* at Voelas Hall near Bettws y Coed.

Neither is probably much later than the 6th century, and the latter was never pronounced with *h*, as may be seen from the later form *Brochmail*. As we may suppose the Ogam alphabet had only one symbol for *ch* and *h*, it was quite natural for the Ancient Kymry when using Roman capitals to make *h* stand for *ch*, especially as Latin could not help them out of their difficulty, Latin *ch* being not their spirant, but merely an aspirated *c* like English *ch* in *public-house*. The nearest sound to this last in Early Welsh must have been that of *cc* as in *Decceti*, and this is probably one reason for the later spelling *Decheti*. So when, towards the end of the Brit-Welsh period, the *cc* passed into our spirant *ch*, the digraph *ch* continued to represent it; so in the case of *th*, and *ph* had to follow suit.

There is another *ch* which must have occasionally yielded *h*: for instance, our word *croen*, 'skin,' must have gone through the steps *crochen*, *crohen*, before assuming its present form, as may be seen from the Breton *kroc'hen*, Ir. *crocenn* "tergus," *croicend* "pellis," of the same origin probably as O. Norse *hrygg*, gen. *hryggjar*, O. H. Ger. *hrucci*, Mod. H. Ger. *rücken*, O. Eng. *hrycg* or *hrycc*, Mod. Eng. *ridge*. The book-word *crëyr*, 'a heron,' retains its history better: in N. Wales it has become *crÿr*, *crÿdd*, and *crÿ*, while the Southwalian

form is *crychydd*; so it would seem that *crëyr* must have come from *crehyr*, *crechyr*. These words are of the same origin as O. English *hrágra* 'a heron,' and Ir. *ceirce* 'a hen.' But as both *croen* and *crëyr*, if traced still further back, appear to come from *curcenn* and *carcir*, it would seem that the *ch* owes its presence to the well-known law of Welsh phonology that *l* or *r* preceding a surd mute changes it into the corresponding spirant—except the case of *ll*. If so, that law must have begun to obtain somewhat earlier than one would be led to suppose from the inscriptional forms in point, such as *Barcuni*, *Curcagni*, *Ercilivi*, *Ercilinci*, *Marti*, *Martini*, *Ulcagni*, *Ulcagnus*. However, one could not venture to say that any of these are much later than the 5th century, excepting perhaps *Marti* on the Capel Brithdir stone. On the other hand, an inscription in letters which can hardly be later than the 7th century at Llanboidy reads

Mavoh

Fili Lunar . . .

hi Cocci.

Unfortunately the end of the stone is damaged, and the second name may have been *Lunarhi*, *Lunarchi* or *Lunarthi*, which could now be only *Llunarch* or *Llunarth*. *Cocci* is the prototype no

doubt of our *coch* 'red,' which is also used as an epithet after proper names: so this inscription probably indicates that *rc* (or *rt*) had become *rch* (or *rth*) at a time when *cc* had not yet become a spirant *ch*: about the same time that *rc* became *rch* no doubt *lc* also became *lch*. But whether this reaches sufficiently far back to explain the *lh* on the Llanaelhaiarn stone is still doubtful. The inscription is:

ALHORTVSEIMETIACO

HIC IACET.

It is remarkable as the only instance which has *iacet* so written, and not *iacit*, and as showing a Latinised nominative in *o* for the more usual *us*. If the supposition that *alh* here stands for an earlier *alc* should turn out to be inadmissible, it may be regarded as representing *alcs* of the same origin as ἀλεξ- in such Greek names as Ἀλέξανδρος, Ἀλεξιμένης, and the like. According to some, the name is to be read not *Alhortus* but *Ahortus*. This is less probable, but easier to explain; for it would be the prototype of our adjective *ehorth* or *ēorth* 'active, assiduous.' In any case, the value of the *H* seems to have been that of *ch* spirant.

The sum of all this is, that though *ch* was in all probability the original and only value of ¹,

it acquired also that of *h* before the end of the Brit-Welsh period, or, more exactly speaking, before the date of the inscriptions showing *Broho* and *Brohomagli*; so that Irish tradition is correct, as far as it goes, in giving ¹ the value of *h*, seeing that the Welsh themselves, when using Roman letters, wrote *h* for both the Welsh spirant *ch* and the Latin *h*.

It is next to be observed, that the value of TTT given as *f* is peculiar to Irish, and the result of a phonetic change whereby initial *w* in Irish passed through *v* into *f*. Thus in Irish we have *fín*, 'wine,' corresponding to *gwin* in Welsh, both borrowed probably from the Latin *vinum*: so also in native words, e.g. O. Ir. *finn* 'white,' Welsh *gwyn*, and many more of the same kind. The Irish *f* is found in the oldest manuscript Irish, that is, of the 8th or the end of the 7th century, but at that time the pronunciation may possibly have been as yet that of English *v*, though in later Irish it was no doubt that of *f* or *ph*. *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba* gives us *Virgnous* (Fergna) and *Vinniano* (Finnian). But in our inscriptions we have no trace of such a change; for in them the Ogam in question TTT is invariably treated as the equivalent of Latin *v*, as for instance on the stones at Pool Park, Clydai, and Cwm Gloyn. But what was the value of Latin

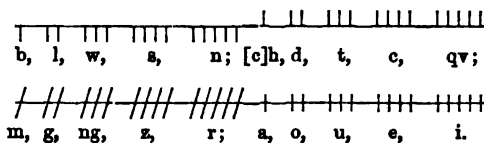
v consonant? After weighing with some care a good deal written on the subject lately in this country, I am persuaded that it must have been that of *w* as in the English words *war*, *work*, *well*, and the like: the next sound in the order of probability would, I think, be that of *u* in the German words *quelle*, *quick*.

As to IIII, which is given as *q*, it is to be noticed that this is commonly treated as though *u* were to be supplied; but that cannot be correct, and IIII is the full representation of the sounds which in Roman letters are always written *QV* in our inscriptions, and never *Q* only as sometimes happens in Roman documents. So we have *Qrenvendani*, *Qvenatauci*, *Maqveragi*, *Maqvirini*. The Irish seem to have begun rather early to drop the *v*, and so to confound *qv* with *c*, which became the rule in all later Irish. Thus Irish inscriptions give us not only the correct genitive *Cunagussos*, but also a later *Qunagussos*, which cannot be correct, as is proved by the O. Welsh equivalent *Cinust*. By way of exception, an Irish inscriber who, perhaps, wished his IIII not to be read as though it were a IIII, took care to write after it a III in the name IIII III III III III, i.e., *Qveci*, which seems to be the same which occurs as *Qvici* on the stone taken from Fardel in Devonshire to the British Museum. This last has

the *q* in *qv* differed to a considerable extent, the one being palatal and the other guttural or velar, as it is sometimes termed. This would be one reason why a separate symbol for *qv* was adopted: another reason would be, that, possibly, the sound which followed *q* occurred nowhere but in this combination, as is the case with the *u* in *quelle* and *quick* in some of the German dialects—to indicate that it was probably neither $++$ nor $+++$ I write it *v*. I am not sure but that I should go further, and say that the German *u* in *quelle*, *quick*, is historically identical with our *v* in *qv*. For German *qu* stands for præ-Teutonic *gv*, which in the Goidelo-Kymric languages, probably before the separation of the Welsh and the Irish, yielded *b* as the result of the *v* occasioning the replacing of *g* by the labial. So it is probable that the *v* of *qv*, which produced a precisely similar result ending in the replacing of *qv* by *p* in Gaulish and, later, in Welsh, was exactly the same sound. The reason why it effected the labialisation of *gv* sooner than of *qv* is that the weaker consonant, the sonant *g*, could not offer so much resistance to its influence as the surd in the other combination.

The sum of the foregoing remarks is that the values of the letters of the Ogam alphabet, as

once used in Wales, must have been the following:—



Here it will be noticed that no provision is made for *p*, probably because it was not a sound current in Kymric before *qv* became *p*. However in the epitaphs of Britons who had adopted Roman names in which *p* occurs, it was found necessary to have a character for it. This is met with twice, on the Glan Usk Park stone where it has the form \times , and on the one at Cynffig where it is made into a broad arrow $\nearrow \searrow$.

How early occasion arose for an Ogam for *th* depends on the date at which *rt* began to pass into the *rth* already alluded to. But as *th* in other positions seems to date later it is hardly probable that in the meantime a special character for *th* should have been provided, the Ogams for *rt* being written probably as though the pronunciation had not undergone change. Nor is the case of *rt* in inscriptions in Roman capitals, as in **MARTI** and **MARTINI**, enough to prove that the pronunciation may not have been that of our later *rth*; for even in O. Welsh *rth* was not always so

written: so long a time did it take *ch*, *th*, *ph* to lose their Latin values of aspirated mutes, and to become the regular symbols for our spirants so written.

The case of *f* is different, as it occurred initially in Brit-Welsh names such as *FANONI* and *FANNVCI*. Now Welsh *f* is of threefold origin; it stands for *p* preceded by *r*, and it is sometimes the product of *pp*; in both cases it dates after the transition of *qv* into *p*, and is now mostly written *ph*. Elsewhere, that is, when used as an initial, it represents an Aryan *sp*, which the Irish have reduced into *s*; thus from the same origin as O. Norse *spjót*, O. H. Ger. *spioz*, Mod. H. Ger. *spiess*, 'a spear,' Mr. Stokes derives our word *ffon*, "baculus, hasta," Ir. *sonn*, 'a stake,' the chief difference between the Celtic and Teutonic forms being that the latter come from *spud*, while the former postulate a nasalised *spund*. The simplest account I could give of the Celtic treatment of *sp* would be the following: Aryan *sp* became in Celtic *sφ*, which was further reduced into *φ*, whereby is here meant a spirant surd differing from *f* only in its being pronounced by means of the two lips and not the teeth and lower lip. In Gaulish it appears as *f* in the supposed Gaulish name *Frontu*; in Welsh it has been changed into the labiodental *f*, which we now write *ff*, while in Irish it has yielded *s*.

But this *s* in Irish dates after the Irish borrowed such Latin words as *frënum*, 'a bridle,' which they have made into *srian*, and so in other cases. The sound of *φ* or *f* was at best a rare sound in the Celtic languages, and we look in vain for it in our few inscriptions cut in Ogam; so we do not know how it was expressed in that system. However, it is almost certain that there was no Ogmik symbol for it, and it may have been represented, when there was occasion for it, by τ , the Ogam for *b*, or else a quasi-Ogmik symbol such as those used for *p* may have been invented for it.

It will be noticed that in estimating the values of the Ogam characters, we have relied on Irish tradition almost entirely in two instances, namely those of $///$ and $////$; in three others the tradition required to be explained; in the remaining fifteen its accuracy is vouched for by the monuments themselves, especially those of Wales and Devon. The Ogmik monuments in our island are not confined to the West, for others are known in Scotland, especially in the counties of Fife, Aberdeen, and Sutherland, and in the Shetland Isles; but hitherto very little success has attended the interpretation of the latter: some of them will, possibly, turn out to be of Teutonic origin. Those of Ireland have not been chronologically arranged by Irish scholars: so, although they count by scores, they

have not been as yet made to yield us the results which their numerical force would lead one to expect. On Kymric ground it is otherwise; here only twenty-three are known, of which twenty-one are still legible to a greater or less extent; but, on the other hand, their date is far easier approximately to ascertain; for while only two of the Irish ones are known to be accompanied by legends in Latin, only two of ours are without such legends, some merely rendering more or less freely the Ogmic ones, and others standing, as far as one can now see, in no immediate relation to them, while in one instance the Ogam and the ordinary letters seem to form but one inscription. The forms of the Kymric letters used in this last would seem to warrant our assigning it, roughly, to the 9th century: I allude to the Llanarth Cross in Cardiganshire. In another instance, namely, the cross in the Chapel on Caldý Island, the person who wrote on a stone already bearing an inscription in Ogam, leaves it to be inferred that he recognised the Ogam as writing: this would also be about the 9th century. But reasons of language and palæography appear to point to the 5th and 6th centuries as the period to which most of them are to be ascribed. If this guess is wide of the truth, it probably errs in dating them too late rather than too early. It appears highly probable, for in-

stance, that the Cwm Gloyne stone of *Vitaliani Emereto* dates soon after, if indeed not before, the departure of the Romans from Wales. As still earlier may be regarded the Loughor altar with its Ogmie inscription, now almost wholly illegible. Thus our Ogmie monuments may, roughly speaking, be said to range from a date perhaps anterior to the departure of the Romans to the end of the 9th century or thereabouts. As to their distribution, it is to be noticed that only one is known in North Wales, two in Devonshire, and one in Cornwall; all the rest belong to South Wales. In Ireland acquaintance with Ogmie writing held out much later than in Wales, but it is my impression that the oldest Irish Ogam hitherto deciphered will turn out to be, to say the least of it, not earlier than the oldest Kymric ones to which allusion has just been made. Whether the Gauls ever practised Ogmie writing it is impossible to say, as they had adopted the Greek alphabet from the Greek colony of Massilia before Cæsar's time. Their inscriptions show them using both Greek letters and some of the Italian alphabets, which may therefore have been introduced into the Gaulish portions of Britain anterior to the Roman occupation, though we have no reason to think that either they or the Kymric Celts cut letters on stone until they were taught it by Roman example. It is this, perhaps,

together with the more complete ascendancy of Latin in the same portions of the island during the Roman occupation, that naturally accounts for the absence of inscriptions in Ogam in most of England excepting Devonshire.

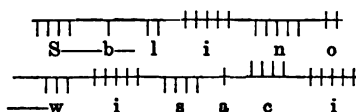
For the benefit of those who may wish to study the subject of Ogams for themselves, I may here mention that on those of Ireland they will have to consult the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, and the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archaeological Society*. The Scotch Ogams figure in Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and in the proceedings of various antiquarian societies. The Welsh ones will be found discussed in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, a journal started in 1846; they also find their places in Dr. Hübner's work on our Christian inscriptions, and Prof. Westwood's forthcoming work entitled *Lapidarium Walliæ*. In the meantime the following brief account of them will be found useful:—

1. *Denbighshire*.—The first stone to be noticed stands in front of the house at Pool Park, near Ruthin: it is said to have been brought thither from a barrow on *Bryn y Beddau*, 'the hill of the graves.' The Latin legend is perfectly legible, excepting the first three characters of the first line:—

S—MILINI

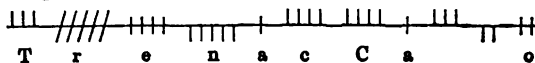
TOVISACI.

I should like to read SVMILINI, but the word looks more like SAIMILINI, excepting that the curve overtopping the *s* is like no letter I know, but may, with the *s* perhaps have been meant for a kind of *A*. If the *I* be taken conjointly with the *M*, one might possibly read SAVMILINI. The Ogam is imperfect, which is the more to be regretted as it is the only one known in North Wales:—



The syllable *to* is altogether gone from the edge, which must have originally read *Tomisaci*, before it was damaged near the ground, as the stone now stands. On the other edge two of the vowel groups are illegible: I guess them, from the length of the spaces, to have been *u* and *e*, which would give us *Subelino*, or, possibly, *Saobelino*.

2. *Cardiganshire*.—Near the ruins of an old mansion called Llanvaughan, near Llanybydder, or, as it is more commonly written, Llanybyther, there lay in 1873, when I visited it, a stone reading:—




This is one of the best-preserved Ogam I have seen ; but some of the letters forming the Latin legend are rather faint—the latter reads :

TRENACATVS

IC IACIT FILIVS

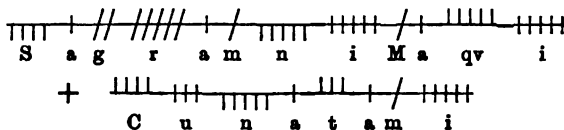
MAGLAGNI.

3. On a cross-inscribed stone at Llanarth, near Aberayron, we read  on the left arm of the cross, and down its shaft the name *Gurhir(e?)t* in the ordinary Kymric letters usual from the 8th to the 10th century. If one reads the Ogam downwards with the name, we have *C. Gurhired*, possibly meaning *Croc Gurhired* or G.'s Cross : if it is to be read upwards we have *S. Gurhired*, which suggests *Sanctus Gurhired* ; but I confess I have never heard of such a saint.

4. At Capel Mair, in the parish of Llangeler, not far from Llandyssul, there used to be a stone bearing two inscriptions. The Ogam has been described to me as reading *Deccaibanwalbdis*, and the Latin as being *Decabarbalom Filius Brocagni* : the first name has also been given as *Decapar-beilom* : but not one of these versions is, probably, quite correct. The stone is supposed to have been wilfully effaced by a farmer, who thought it induced visitors to trespass ; however that may be, the stone shown me showed no trace of letters of

any kind, but I doubt that I have seen the right one.

5. *Pembrokeshire*.—A stone now lying in the Vicar's grounds at St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan, reads :*—



 S a g r a m n i M a qv i

 +

 C u n a t a m i

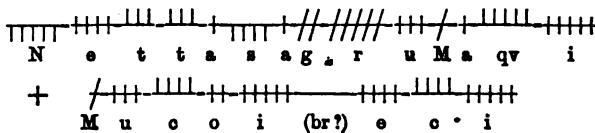
The Latin legend is :

SAGRANI FILII

CVNOTAMI.

Every letter is legible, although the stone has been used as a gate-post, and fractured right through the middle.

6. A stone standing in Bridell churchyard, about a mile from Cilgerran, is almost singular in its bearing no Latin inscription ; however one side is inscribed with a small cross contained in a circle. The Ogam reads :—



 N e t t a s a g r u M a qv i

 +


 M u c o o i (br?) e c i

The only letters, which I consider doubtful, are


* Where an Ogam continuously written is too long to be printed in one line a + is prefixed to the second part, as here.

those enclosed in parentheses: they may possibly be *br*, *mr*, or *sl*; *gr* has also been proposed.

7. A stone in the churchyard at Cilgerran reads in Ogam, which is now very faint:—

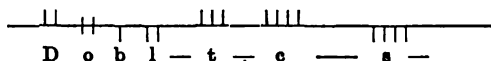


T r e n a g u s u M a q v i



M a q v i t r e n i

The Ogam is very hard to make anything of, but it seems to begin with *Dobl-*: this is all I can make of it:—



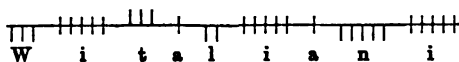
The spaces would seem to indicate *Doblatucisi*, *Doblotucaisi*, or the like: so it would seem that the name intended in the Latin legend must have been *Doblati* or *Dobloti*: however the final *i* is horizontal and rather doubtful, and so according to some readings is the *i* of *Evolengi*, which I thought I detected as a slight horizontal stroke in the bosom of the *G*. Others think the Ogam begins with *Dom-*, which requires the same number of digits as *Dobl-*: the latter is preferable, as it is supported by the Latin version. In the Ogam we seem to have the name of the deceased with an epithet attached, while the Latin omits the epithet and gives the father's name.

10. A stone used as a gate-post on the farm of Cwm Gloyn, near Nevern, has, in Roman capitals, the legend:—

VITALIANI

EMERETO.

And in Ogam it reads:—



This is preceded by some marks which I did not

take to mean anything; but whether I was right or not, the reading *Witaliani* is certain.

11. A stone~~x~~ recently described by Mr. J. R. Allen in the *Arch. Cambrensis* (1876, pp. 54, 55), and since examined by me under rather unfavourable circumstances, is used as a gate-post near the farm-house called Trefgarn Fach (pronounced in English *Truggarn*, for *Trengarn*, a form to be compared with *Trewdraeth* for *Trefdraeth*), about a mile and a half from Trefgarn Bridge on the Fishguard and Haverfordwest road. The capitals, make the following legend:—

HOGTIVIS FILI

DEMETI.

The Ogam consists of one name only, which seems to be

||||| || ||| ||||| ||||| |||||
N o g t e n e

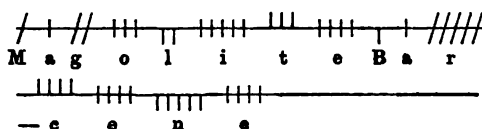
However, it is right to add that I supply the Ogam for *n* from a rubbing taken by Mr Allen, and that I was not convinced that I could detect it on the stone when I looked at it; but even in the rubbing the five digits, which were certainly there, were so faint that Mr. Allen did not think himself warranted in reproducing them in his woodcut in the *Arch. Cam.* Further, I read the *H* of the 'Latin version as *N*, as in some other instances: thus two readings are possible of these

inscriptions : *Nogtivis Fili Demeti*, and in Ogam *Nogtene* ; and *Hogtivis Fili Demeti*, and in Ogam *Ogtene*. I have given the preference to the former over the latter, in which the *h* would have to be regarded as inorganic and useless : the same thing has already been suggested with respect to the *s*. The stone indicates no more definite a connection between the two inscriptions than that *Nogtene* and *Nogtivis* are the names of persons who belonged to the same family. According to the analogy of *Ercilivi* and *Cunacennimi*, *Nogtivis*, if it is not a compound, should mean the son of *Nogt-* or *Nogten-* ; but it is conceivable that such a name might get to be more loosely used, or that it referred to an eponymus of the family.

12. An Ogmie inscription has recently been discovered by Dr. Haigh of Erdington on the base of a cross now in the churchyard at St. Florence : in what remains tolerably legible he thinks he can read *Magveragi*, a name which has also been read in Roman capitals on one of the stones now at Dolau Cothy. The most curious thing about the St. Florence inscription is, that it is written on the face of the stone and not on the angle.

13. The remains of an Ogmie inscription are to be seen on the upper part of a stone placed in the wall of the chapel on Caldy ; but owing to the position of the stone I could not read them.

On the face of the stone there is a cross under which stands the following inscription in somewhat early Kymric letters:—*et signo crucis in illam fingsi: rogo omnibus ammulantibus ibi exorent pro anima catuoconi*. Lately Dr. Haigh has had the stone removed from the wall, and he finds the Ogam to have read upwards on both angles near the top of the stone. He supposes the legend to have been the following; but he acknowledges it to be, however, far from certain:—



On the other face there are crosses, and on the shaft of one of them there are sundry notches or marks, which remind one to some degree of the cross on the Dugood stone near Clydai: in both instances their meaning is unknown. It would be a matter of no great difficulty to offer an explanation of the names suggested by Dr. Haigh, but it is not so easy to say in what relation the two inscriptions stand to one another. But it would not be too much to say that the inscriber of the Latin recognised the Ogmie digits as writing, otherwise one cannot see why he began with *et*.

14. *Carmarthenshire*.—At Llandawke, near Laugharne, there is a stone which was lately used as a threshold in the entrance to the church in spite of its having on it a double inscription. The Latin legend is :—

BARRIVENDI

FILIVS VENDVBARI

HIC IACIT.

The top of the stone is broken off, probably to make it fit as a threshold; but it seems to have had Ogams at one time all round its upper part and down the whole length of its right edge. The latter I cannot make much of, but it seems to have digits and spaces for *tagvoledemu*— —*b*—, which is, however, highly uncertain. But near the top on the left edge there is a clear *magvi* followed by another word beginning apparently with *m*: the rest is broken off; and so is the other side, so that *tagvoledemu* is just as likely to have been *caqvoledemu* or *qvaqvoledemu*, for anything one can now guess. Dr. S. Ferguson would read both edges upwards.

15. Quite recently Mr. Roberts, vicar of Newchurch, detected traces of Ogams on a stone known as Y Garreg Lwyd and Carreg Fyrddin in the neighbourhood of Abergwili, near Carmarthen; but nothing intelligible or continuous can be made out of them now.

16. A stone from Llanwinio was lately traced by Mr. Roberts to Middleton Hall near Llanarthney, where I have since seen it. The Roman letters are very hard to read, but they seem to make the following legend:—

BLADI

FILI BODIBEVE.

Various other readings of the first name have been proposed, and *FILI* has been read *ACI* and *AVI*. The Ogam is incomplete owing to the top of the stone having been cut off and lost: from what remains I infer that it reads up the two front edges, and commemorates individuals of the *Bevi* family—this is what remains of it:—

+										+
A	w	w	i	b	o	dd	i	b	...	
+										
										+
						B	e	w	w	...

The doubling of the *w* and *d* is exceptional, but compare *Etterni* on one of the Clydai stones: it is, however, right to say that one would not think of reading |||| as *dd* but for the *d* in the Latin legend. Now *bod* would in later Welsh be either *bodd* or *budd*, both of which occur in proper names: the other element occurs in *Con-bev-i*, which is in Mod. Welsh *Cynfym*. The word *ammi* or *avi* occurs in Irish Ogam in the sense of grandson, O. Irish *áu*. Whether the first line of the

Ogam on the stone now occupying our attention is to be regarded as making one name *Anniboddib-* or *Armi Boddib-*, it must mean 'Nepotis Bodibevi.' The only thing which prevents me from reading the whole thus: *Berm*[i] *Armi Boddib*[*ermi*], "B. nepotis Bodibevi," is the fact that it is not usual to begin with the right edge; but that is perhaps not a sufficient reason for not doing so here. This remarkable stone, then, commemorates either two or three distinct persons, who are shown, however, to have belonged to the same family by the name-element *bev* or *berm*.

17. *Brecknockshire*.—A stone now standing near Sir Joseph Bailey's residence in Glan Usk Park, near Crickhowel, reads in Ogam:—

||| ||| ||||| x ——— ——— ||| ||| ||| ||| :—
T u r p i l l u n i

which may be restored as meaning *Turpilli* [*maqv*] *Trilluni*, seeing that the Latin reads *Turpilli Ic Jacit Puveri Triluni Dunocati*.

18. A stone preserved in Trallong Church in the neighbourhood of Brecon reads in Ogam:—

||| ||| ——— ——— ||| ||| ||| ——— ——— ||| ||| ||| |||
C u n a c e n n i w i
+ ||| ||| ——— ——— ||| ||| |||
I l w w e t o

The Latin reads :—

CVNOCENNI FILIVS

CVNOCENI HIC IACIT,

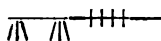
whence it would seem that *Cunacennini* is a kind of patronymic meaning *C. filius C.*, and that *Ilmweto* is an epithet. The broader end of the stone bears a cross enclosed, excepting the shaft, in a circle.

19. *Glamorganshire*.—On the roadside between Margam and Cynffig stands a stone which reads :—

PVNPEIVS

CARANTORIVS.

The Ogam begins near the top on the right edge and reads :—


 P[o]p e ...

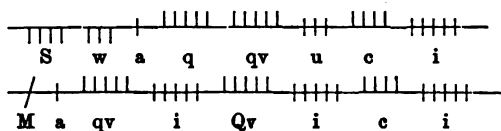
which appears to make *Pope*; but one cannot go further with any certainty of being right, as the original number of vowel notches terminating the name cannot now be determined; but they seem to have been between seven and ten, and it may be supposed that the name was *Popei* or *Popeu*. Both *Popei* and *Punpeius* are forms of the more usual *Pompeius*, and the explanation of them is to be sought in Latin, as was pointed out in the previous lecture. The character here guessed to

mean *p* has not been met with elsewhere. The Ogam occupying the length of the right edge is too far gone to be deciphered; it seems, read downwards, to show the digits standing for —*r—l—sm—qv—ll—n...*, which, if read upwards, would make ...*c—dd—n—mc—d—r....* On the whole I am inclined to think that all the Ogams formed one inscription continued round the top of the stone, where now, it is true, there is no trace of a letter. The stone now stands erect, but it has not always been so, if I am right in thinking that what is now the top has been worn smooth by the tread of feet.

20. The Roman altar at Loughor, the *Cas Llychmr* of the Welsh, and, according to some, the *Leucarum* of the Romans, bears an Ogmic inscription which is, unfortunately, almost entirely illegible, excepting the last two groups of digits, which make *ic*. Various guesses may be given, the two extremes of which would be *Lehuric* and *Vehomagic*, or, as I would put them, *Lehuri C.* and *Vehomagi C.* If the *c* stood for a word, the inscription was probably in Latin; but the altar shows no trace of any other letters than Ogams.

21. *Devonshire*.—A stone taken from Fardel, near Ivybridge, and deposited in the British Museum, has on it three different inscriptions, two in Roman capitals more or less debased, and

one in Ogam, to which repeated reference has been made—it reads upwards on both edges:—



The Roman letters on the face bounded by these edges read:—

FANONI

MAQVIRINI.

The third inscription is on another face, and consists of the name *Sagramui* in letters which are considerably later than the foregoing ones, the *r*, especially, being of the early Kymric type and the *n* formed like an *h*.

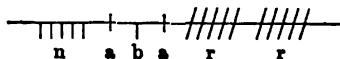
22. One of the three tombstones at Tavistock was brought thither from a place not very far off called Buckland Monachorum: it reads in Roman capitals:—

DOBVNNI

FABRI FIL[L?]I

ENABARRI.

This explains the only portion of the Ogmic inscription still legible:



23. *Cornwall*.—A stone on Worthyvale farm, in

the neighbourhood of Camelford, shows traces of an Ogmie inscription ending in +++++, *i*: the preceding letter is rather doubtful, but it may be an *r*. The other inscription is in debased Roman capitals with one or two Kymric letters intermixed, especially *s* and *m*:—

LATINI IC IACIT

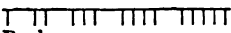
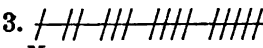
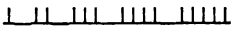
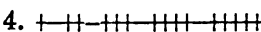
FILIUS MA...ARII.

Let us now return to the Ogam alphabet and try to force it to tell its own history. In one of the Irish alphabets, which have evidently been based on it, the letters had the following names, which I copy from O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. xxxii. :—

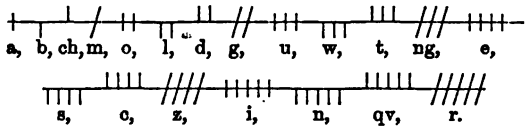
B <i>beith</i> , the birch.	M <i>muin</i> , the vine.
l <i>luis</i> , the mountain ash.	g <i>gort</i> , ivy.
f <i>fearn</i> , the alder.	ng <i>ngedal</i> , the reed.
s <i>sail</i> , the willow.	st or z <i>straiſ</i> , the sloe-tree.
n <i>nion</i> , the ash.	r <i>ruis</i> , the elder.
H <i>huath</i> , the hawthorn.	A <i>ailm</i> , the fir-tree.
d <i>duir</i> , the oak.	o <i>onn</i> , furze.
t <i>tinne</i> (unknown).	u <i>ur</i> , heath.
c <i>coll</i> , hazel.	e <i>eadhadh</i> , the aspen.
q <i>queirt</i> , the apple-tree.	i <i>idhadh</i> , the yew.

This is the Bethluisnion alphabet, so called from its first letters: in another the letters are called after Biblical names, of which the first two are Bobel and Loth, whence it is called the Bobelloth alphabet. Consider now for a moment the cha-

racter of the four groups into which Irish tradition was wont to divide the letters :—

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1.  | 3.  |
| 2.  | 4.  |
| B, l, w, s, n. | M, g, ng, z, r. |
| Ch, d, t, c, qv. | A, o, u, e, i. |

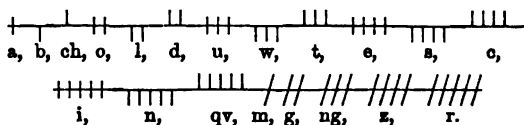
It is highly improbable that this grouping can be as old as the alphabet itself; for it is not much of an attempt to classify the sounds indicated, while it is a classification of the symbols used. The sort of arrangement which it presupposes was, I conjecture, the following or some other one nearly resembling it :—



This conjecture is, I must tell you in passing, the most important of a good many which I am going to submit to you in this and the next lecture, and with it would fall most of my conclusions with respect to the origin of Ogmic writing. If this is borne in mind, it will be needless for me to repeat it as we proceed.

If you look again at the different kinds of digits, the question may occur to you, why the long ones are not allowed to cross the edge of the stone written upon at right angles. Now it is not im-

probable that, at one time, the vowels were of the description here suggested and not mere notches.* It is so at any rate in one class of Irish Ogams, which are not, it is true, attested by the oldest monuments: still it may be that this peculiarity they show comes down from much earlier times. In them *a* would be not + but †, which would render it necessary to write *m* †, and so with the other four. All this points to the conclusion that the oblique group is of later date than the other three, and the order last given may be allowed to give way to the following:—



There are other reasons for supposing the oblique group merely supplementary to the others: thus *///* for *ng* dates probably after *///*, *g*, and is formed from it by adding a score; but it must have been settled before *////* was hit upon for *r*, otherwise nobody would have thought of representing by means of the most cumbrous symbol in the alphabet the consonant which of all others is the one most frequently used in Welsh; and it is hardly otherwise in the case of the other Celtic

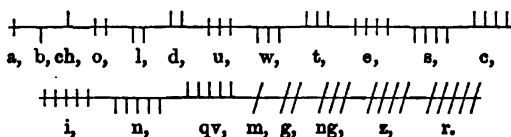
* It is right the reader should know that the Ogams for the vowels in this volume are represented as much longer than, in strict proportion to the consonantal digits, they should be.

tongues. Hence it follows that *ng*, *z*, *r*, only got to be written *///*, *////*, */////* by way of addition to, or readjustment of the alphabet as previously used. Further, as the Ogam in one of the orders it admits of begins with + (*a*), \top (*b*), which may be treated as the equivalents in it of aleph, beth, or *a*, *β* , we may go further and assume \perp (*ch*) to be, for some reason or other, the Ogmic equivalent of gimmel or γ : this is confirmed by the fact of *g* appearing as *//* in the later group, which suggests the same sort of relation between \perp and *//* as between the Latin letters *C* and *G*. Now, treating +, \top , \perp , as the historical equivalents of aleph, beth, gimmel, the Ogmic alphabet may be said to have coincided with the Semitic alphabet in its first three letters, excepting that the Irish grouping does not enable us to decide which of the six sequences—*a*, *b*, *ch*: *a*, *ch*, *b*: *b*, *a*, *ch*: *b*, *ch*, *a*: *ch*, *a*, *b*: *ch*, *b*, *a*—was the one adopted in the Ogmic system.

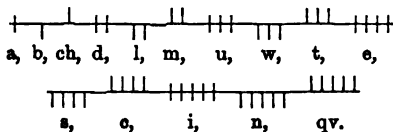
Is this coincidence, it may be asked, purely accidental, or does it tend to prove that the framers of the Ogam were acquainted with some one or more alphabets of Phœnician origin? The answer to this question is to be sought in the number of combinations, as mathematicians term it, which the letters of the Ogam alphabet admit of when taken three and three together. But as the long group does not appear to have belonged to the

alphabet in its earliest form, we can only calculate on the remaining fifteen letters. Now the number of permutations which fifteen letters admit of when taken by threes is 2730, which, divided by six, gives us the number of combinations as 455; that is, the chances against the coincidence being accidental are 454 to 1. But, to be on the safe side, let us discard lllll, *qv*, as being possibly a later addition to complete the scheme. The letters then are fourteen, which, taken by threes, admit of 364 combinations; and this reduces the chances to 363 to 1. But some writers appear to believe that it is, somehow, natural for alphabets to begin as the Semitic ones are found to do. Now these last begin with aleph, a consonant which a European would probably not have honoured with a place in an alphabet at all. If, however, it is our European *a* that nature intended to take the lead, the Shemites failed to obey the promptings of nature on this point: the same applies with still more force to the Irish, when they put together the Bethluisnion alphabet, and the Teutons, whose Runic alphabets are found to begin with *f*, *u*, *th*, *a*, *r*, *k*, although the symbols for them were borrowed from the Latin alphabet, which did begin with *A*. Thus the facts within our reach seem to warrant our leaving out of the reckoning the alleged naturalness in question, so that, when it is found that the

chances are over 300 to 1 against the coincidence being accidental, it is highly probable that the framers of the Ogam alphabet were acquainted with the Phœnician or some one derived from it. This being so, it is also probable that the sequence of the first three letters in the Ogam was no other than *a, b, ch*, as in the trial alphabet mentioned above :—



A little further scrutiny of this last arrangement leads one to observe the apparently artificial quartering of the vowels in places 1, 4, 7, 10, 13. So, to get at the sequence which preceded this, we should, among other things, have to expel the vowel *o* from its present position, which would admit the *d* to advance and the *m* to return from the supplementary group to the place which it probably occupied before it was relegated there. We should then have the following:—



Thus we seem to get a glimpse into the history of the changes which the Ogam alphabet has under-

gone, at the same time that, by restoring *d* to what was probably its old place, we nearly triple our former estimate of the probabilities of the case, the chances now being (without taking the sequence *l m* into account) exactly 1000 to 1 in favour of the supposition that the Ogam alphabet is connected with the Phœnician.

So far as we have gone, the connection seems to amount to this:—1. The framers of the Ogam alphabet did not take up all the Phœnician letters, but only about 14 or 15 of them. 2. These they took in their order in the Phœnician alphabet. 3. They translated the Semitic characters into straight lines, probably because they found them easier to cut on wood, which, it may be presumed, was the material which they mostly used to write upon, but chiefly, perhaps, because they may have already been in the habit of cutting scores resembling Ogmic digits on wood, horn, or bone. Such scoring, considered as mere scoring or carving, and without reference to its meaning, has been traced so far back in Europe as the quaternary period and the end of the mammoth age: a specimen from the sepulchral cave of Aurignac is described by M. François Lenormant in the second edition of his *Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'Ancien Monde* (Paris, 1875), i. 7, 8. So far no attempt has here been

made to show with which of the Phœnician alphabets, that is the Phœnician alphabet properly so called, or some one of those of Greece or Italy which have been traced to it, the Ogam is connected. History and geography do not encourage one to expect to find any immediate connection between the Ogam and the alphabets of Greece: the ordinary Roman alphabet hardly suits, as it has only the one symbol *v* for *u* and *w*, not to mention other reasons which might be adduced: similarly we might go on excluding the Etruscan and Runic alphabets. For the present, then, we shall rest content with the bare fact, that the Ogam is in a manner derived from the Phœnician alphabet, without proceeding to attempt to trace the connection between them step by step. The rest of this lecture will, accordingly, be devoted to a brief mention of some of the Goidelo-Kymric traditions bearing on the origin of writing among the Celts.

The allusions in Irish literature to the Ogam are various and numerous, and a succinct account of the grammatical treatises, which deal with it, will be found in the following paragraph quoted from an abstract of a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy in 1848 by Prof. Graves, now Bishop of Limerick:—"The Book of Leinster, a MS. of the middle of the 12th century, contains

a passage in which it [the key to the Ogam] is briefly given. The Book of Ballymote, written about the year 1370, contains an elaborate tract, which furnishes us with the keys to the ordinary Ogham, and a vast variety of ciphers, all formed on the same principle. The Book of Lecan (written in the year 1417) contains a copy of the Uraicept, a grammatical tract, perhaps as old as the 9th century, in which are many passages relating to the Ogham alphabet, and all agreeing, as regards the powers of the characters, with what is laid down in the treatise on Oghams in the Book of Ballymote. Dr. O'Connor, indeed, speaks of a manuscript book of Oghams written in the 11th century, and once in the possession of Sir James Ware. Mr. Graves has ascertained that this is merely a fragment of the above-mentioned Ogham tract. It is now preserved in the library of the British Museum, and does not appear to have been written earlier than the 15th or 16th century." Some valuable extracts from, and fac-similes of the Ballymote tract have lately been published by Mr. G. M. Atkinson in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Society* (vol. iii. pp. 202-236), to which we shall have occasion to refer more than once. There, in answer to the question, "By whom and from whence are the veins and beams in the Ogaim tree named?"

we have the curious reply :—" *Per alios*. It came from the school of Phenius, a man of Sidon, viz., schools of philosophy under Phenius throughout the world, teaching the tongues (he thus employed), in number 25." But, to pass by the other traditions respecting this early Fenian, we come to Ogma, who is said to have been the inventor of the Ogam, and from whom it is called *Ogam*, also *Ogum*, and, in later Irish, *Ogham* with a silent *gh*. Ogma is described as the son of Elathan of the race of the Tuatha de Danann, whence it is clear that he is as mythical a personage as Irish legend could well make him. And from his being called, as appears from Mr. Atkinson's paper, *Ogma the Sun-faced*, it seems probable that he was of solar origin. Ogma being much skilled in dialects and in poetry, it was he, we are told, who invented the Ogam to provide signs for secret speech only known to the learned, and designed to be kept from the vulgar and poor of the nation. For not only was a system of writing called Ogam, but also a dialect, or mode of speech, bears that name. Of this O'Molloy, cited in the preface to O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. xlviii., says : " *Obscurum loquendi modum, vulgo Ogham, antiquariis Hiberniæ satis notum, quo nimirum loquebantur syllabizando vocolas appellationibus litterarum, diphthongorum, et triphthongorum ipsis dumtaxat notis.*" O'Dono-

van further quotes an entry in the Annals of Clonmacnoise to the following effect, as translated, in 1627, by Connell Mageoghegan :—" A.D. 1328. Morish O'Gibelan, Master of art, one exceeding well learned in the new and old laws, civile and cannon, a cunning and skillfull philosopher, an excellent poet in Irish, an eloquent and exact speaker of the speech, which in Irish is called Ogham, and one that was well seen in many other good sciences: he was a canon and singer at Twayme, Olfyn, Aghaconary, Killalye, Enaghdown, and Clonfert; he was official and common judge of these dioceses; ended his life this year."

To pass by, for the present, the motive attributed to Ogma in his invention, we seem to find him here in the character of the man of letters, and this is quite in harmony with the only trace of his footsteps which has been discovered on Kymric ground, namely, in the Welsh derivative *ofydd*, which probably stands for an earlier *omið* = *ogmið*, and seems to have formerly meant a man of science and letters; now it is defined to be an Eisteddfodic graduate who is neither bard nor druid, and translated into *ovate*. Thus, perhaps, it would be no overhasty generalising to infer that with the insular Celts Ogma's province was language as literature, as the record of the past and the repository of knowledge. The Gauls, on

the other hand, looked at their Ogmius, according to Lucian's account, from the point of view of language as the means of persuasion; for they represented him as an extremely old man drawing after him a crowd of willing followers by means of tiny chains connecting their ears with the tip of his tongue. Otherwise, be it observed, he seems to have had the ordinary attributes of Hercules, whence it would seem that he, like his Goidelic namesake, was of solar origin. It is probable, therefore, that his influence over the crowds who rejoiced to follow him was in the first instance due, not to his oratorical skill, the sweetness of his voice, or his power of persuasion, but to the contents of his words, to the wisdom he had to impart, and the wonderful experiences he could relate. How could it be otherwise in the case of one—to borrow the words applied in the *Odyssey* to the sun—

ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει;

The Irish were perhaps alone in attributing to him the origin of letters and the cultivation of a dialect not understood by the people: at any rate Welsh tradition would seem to point in quite another direction. But it is hardly necessary to state that, owing to the Ogam having got out of use in the West of Britain as early as the 8th or 9th century,

the allusions to it in Welsh literature are exceedingly faint and nebulous. It may possibly be proved that those about to be here mentioned do not in any way refer to the Ogam; but the point I wish to insist upon is that they agree with Irish tradition in placing the origin of writing—whether Ogmic or other—before the Christian era. In the *Iolo MSS.* (pp. 203–206), there are a few paragraphs on the Welsh alphabet from manuscripts supposed to be traceable to the possession of Llewelyn Sion, a Glamorganshire bard and collector of antiquities, who died in the year 1616. Certainly there seems to be no reason to think that they are, in the shape in which we find them, of an earlier date; but that does not prove them not to contain a slender element of ancient tradition beneath the incrustations of later times, and in spite of their evident reference, in the first instance, to the bardic alphabet called *Coelbren y Beirdd*, which may be briefly characterised as the form the Roman alphabet took when carved on wood by the Welsh in the 15th century: see Stephens's essay on the subject in the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1872, pp. 181–210.

One of these paragraphs runs thus: “In the time of Owain ap Maxen Wledig the race of the Cymry recovered their privileges and crown: they took to their original mother-tongue instead of the Latin, which had well-nigh overrun the Isle of Britain,

and in Welsh they kept the history, records, and classifications of country and nation, restoring to memory the ancient Cymraeg, their original words and idioms. Owing, however, to their forgetting and misunderstanding the old orthography of the ten primary letters they fell into error, and thus arose a disagreement as to [the spelling of] several ancient words." The writer goes on to give instances which show that the latter part of the passage is a mere corollary to the preceding part, and applicable to nothing earlier than the numerous foibles of Welsh orthography in the Middle Ages. Another of the paragraphs alluded to is to the following effect: "Before the time of Beli the Great ap Manogan there were but ten letters, and they were called the ten *angrym*, namely, a, p, c, e, t, i, l, r, o, s: afterwards *m* and *n* were discovered, and afterwards four others, so that now being sixteen they were established with the publicity and sanction of state and nation. After the coming of the faith in Christ two other letters were added, namely, *u* and *d*, and in the time of King Arthur there were fixed twenty primary letters, as at present, by the advice of Taliesin Benbeirdd, Urien Rheged's domestic bard. It was according to the alphabet of the eighteen that was arranged OIU, that is, the unutterable name of God: before that system it was OIO according to the six-

teen. Of principal *angrymau* there are not to the present day more than twenty letters or twenty *awgrym*." The writer dwells on the repeated additions made to the alphabet, and the numbers he gives at successive stages are 10, 12, 16, 18, 20, which are clearly not all to be taken *au pied de la lettre*; for national sanction is not mentioned by him till we come to the alphabet of 16; and to what Aryan alphabet could 10 and 12 apply? He has supplied us with the key to his blundering in the word *awgrym* (now 'a hint or suggestion,' plural *awgrymau*), which is simply the O. English word *awgrim*, *augrim*, *algrim*, borrowed. Now the *Craft of Algrim* was arithmetic (on the history of the word, see Max Müller's *Lectures*,⁸ ii. p. 300, 301), and it is clear that he has set off his account of the alphabet by a strange attempt to base it on the decimal system of numeration. It is not to be forgotten that Llewelyn Sion had probably heard of the algebraists and arithmeticians Vieta, Harriot, Wright, and Napier. Perhaps it is in the same direction we should look for the explanation of the mystic OIO.

In another version the arithmetical and alphabetical elements are kept somewhat more apart, the former showing an inveterate tendency to secrecy, which is not so evident in the

case of the latter: "In the principal times of the race of the Cymry the letters were called *ystorrynau* [supposed to mean *cuttings*; but if cuttings, why not *fractions*?]: after the time of Beli ap Manogan they were called letters, and before that there were only the ten primary *ystorryn*, which had been a secret from everlasting with the bards of the Isle of Britain for the preservation of record of country and nation. But Beli the Great made them sixteen, and subject to that arrangement he made them public, causing that thenceforth there should never be secrecy with regard to the knowledge of the letters, subject to the arrangement which he had made touching them, while he left the ten *ystorryn* under secrecy. After the coming of the faith in Christ the letters were made eighteen, and afterwards twenty, and so they were retained to the time of Geraint Fardd Glas, who fixed them at twenty-four."

The next extract is from a document on Bardism cited by Mr. D. Silvan Evans in Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales* (ii. 324): he assigns it to the end of the 15th century, and gives references which will here be utilised. The passage in point is not very lucid, but it seems to mean this: "The three elements of a letter are //, since it is in the presence of one or other of the three

a letter consists ; they are three beams of light, and it is of them are formed the sixteen *ogyrvens*, that is, the sixteen letters. Belonging to another art also there are seven score and seven *ogyrvens*, which are no other than the symbols of the seven score and seven Welsh parent-words, whence every other word." The /\ would be a correct analysis of the letters of nations who habitually wrote on slips of wood, as the nature of that material would compel one to avoid the use of curves and horizontal lines : thus it would apply to Ogams and Runes as well as to the *Coelbren y Beirdd*, which the writer decidedly had in view. The three beams of light was an after-thought, or a bit of another tradition ; but what mostly interests me in this extract is the word *ogyrven*. The sixteen *ogyrvens* are evidently the same as the sixteen letters of the previous extracts ; but the seven score and seven seem to refer to some theory of root-words, and their number was not, as might be expected, very definite ; for, to go still further back, in a passage in the Book of Taliessin, a manuscript of the 14th century, they are given as exactly seven score (Skene, ii. 132, 325) :—

" Seith vgein ogyruen
Yssyd yn awen"

i.e., there are in *awen* [muse, poetry] seven score

Ogyrvens. The two kinds of Ogyrvens would seem to match the Ogam alphabet and the Ogam dialect of Irish tradition, but what is more remarkable is that Ogyrven is the name of a person, and a person not a whit less mythical than Ogma. He is variously called *Ogyrven*, *Ogyrmen*, *Ogyrfan*, and (with the prefixed *g* of late Welsh) *Gogyrfan*, as in a popular rhyme referring to his daughter Gwenhwyfar, Arthur's wife :—

“Gwenhwyfar ferch Ogyrfan gawr,
Drwg yn fechan, gwaeth yn fawr.”
Gwinevere, giant Ogyrven's daughter,
Naughty young, more naughty after.

He is better known in Welsh poetry in connection with Ceridwen, the lady who owned the cauldron of sciences (*pair gwyboda*), and whose inspiring aid Welsh poets are still supposed to invoke: thus in two of the poems in the Black Book of Carmarthen, a manuscript of the 12th century, we meet with a formula of invocation in which she is called (Skene ii. 5, 6) *Ogyrven amhad*, which is supposed to mean “*Ogyrven's* offspring.” They are also associated in several poems in the Book of Taliessin (Skene ii. 154, 156), and in one of the instances Ceridwen's cauldron is called Ogyrven's :—

“Ban pan doeth o peir } i.e. { When up the Muses three
Ogyrwen awen teir.” } { From Ogyrven's cauldron came.

However, Mr. Silvan Evans translates it "High when came from the cauldron the three awens of Gogyrwen." The difference is immaterial here, as he calls attention to a poem of Cynddelw's where Ceridwen and Ogyrven are associated by the poet—he flourished in the 12th century—who calls himself a "bard of the bards of Ogyruen," with, probably, the same meaning as though he had said "of Ceridwen:" see the *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, p. 167 of Gee's edition (Denbigh, 1870).

To project this on the solar myth theory, Gwenhwyfar and Ceridwen are dawn-goddesses, and their father Ogyrven must be the personification of night and darkness; and this is confirmed by the etymology of the word *Ogyrven*, which would have been in O. Welsh probably *Ocrmen*, divisible into *Ocr-men*. The first element *ocr* seems to have been meant in the Luxembourg Folio, where *atrocia* is glossed *arotrion*, which appears to be a clerical error for *arocrion*, if that indeed be not the correct reading. Now, just as Welsh *ac*, *oc*, 'and, with,' stand with respect to such words as Greek *ἄγχω*, Latin *angustus*, German *eng*, so *ocr*, *ogr*, stand to the words which Fick, in his dictionary^s (p. 9), derives from *anghra*, such as Zend *añgra*, 'evil,' *añira*, 'evil, bad:' for a few parallels see the *Revue Celtique*,

ii. 190. The other part occurs also in *tynghed-fen*, a word which is used as a synonym of the simpler *tynghed*, 'fate, destiny.' The former was probably at one time meant to express the personification more clearly than the latter, though it does so no longer. The *men* (mutated *fen* or *ven*) in question can hardly be of a different origin from the English verb to *mean* and its congeners, among which may be mentioned Greek μένος, Sanskrit *manas*, 'courage, sense,' *manyus*, 'courage, zeal, anger, rage,' Zend *mainyu*, 'spirit, sky.' This last qualified by *aîra*, 'evil, bad,' makes in the nominative *aîrô mainyus* (Justi), 'the evil spirit *par excellence*, *Ahriman*, or the devil of the Persians and the great adversary of Ormuzd.' Thus our *Ogyrven* seems to be almost the literal counterpart of *Ahriman*, and might be rendered *the evil spirit*: *Ogyrven*, if not a mere phonetic variation, would be *he of the evil smile*, while *Ogyrfan* shows the same element *fan* (for *man*) as in *Cadfan*, on an early inscribed stone *Catamanus*. In both it is probably of the same origin and meaning as the English word *man*, so that *Ogyrfan* would have meant *the evil man*, and even now we call the devil *y gwr drwg*, 'the bad man.' His attributes are, unfortunately, so weather-worn that Welsh literature hardly enables us to make them out, which is, perhaps, partly

due to his having been dethroned by the devil of the Bible, and partly to his connection with Ceridwen and Gwenhwyfar. But a clue to them appears to be offered us in another form of his name: in Gee's *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, p. 396, it is *Ocurvran*, that is in later spelling *Ogyrfran*, which would mean *the evil crow*, and suggests a community of origin with the Irish Badb: see Mr. Hennessy's article on the latter in the *Revue Celtique*, i. 32-57. The Badb is described as having the form of a crow and as a bird of ill omen, confounding armies, impelling to slaughter, and revelling among the slain. This will serve as a provisional key to the meaning of a reference to Ogyrven in one of the poems in the Black Book already alluded to: the lines are very obscure and run thus (Skene, ii. 6):

"Ry hait itaut. rycheidv y naut. rac caut gelin.

Ry chedwis detyf. ry chynis gretyw. rac lletyw ogyrven."

The meaning is by no means clear, but "*rac caut gelin*," which cannot but mean "against the insult of an enemy," suggests that its parallel in the following line, *rac lletym ogyroen*, must be "against a sinister fate," or something nearly approaching it, as indicated by the adjective *lletym*, now written *lleddf*. Similarly we are enabled to guess what Cynddelw meant (*Myv. Arch. of Wales*, p. 154) when he praises a certain

man as being "a hero of the valour of Ogyrfan," *gnoron gnoryd Ogyrfan*, where Ogyrfan seems to mean war and slaughter, probably personified.

In support of this view of Ogyrfen, we have, besides *tynhedfen*, a third compound, namely *Aer-fen*, which, as *aer* is *battle*, *war*, must mean a spirit or divinity concerned with war : it is, according to Dr. Davies's Welsh-Latin Dictionary, found used in the feminine and applied to the river Dee, which need not surprise you, as *the Dee*, *Deva*, probably means 'the goddess,' and as the river is still called in Welsh *Dyfrdwy*, 'the water of the divinity : ' Giraldus calls it *Deverdoeu*, the full spelling of which would now be *Dyfrdwyw* or *Dyfrdwyf*, whereby he upsets the popular etymology, which explains the word as meaning the *water of two (rivers)*. On river-names of this class see M. Pictet's paper in the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 1-9. However, the word occurs also in the sense of war or battle generally, as in *Englynion y Gorugiau* (*Iolo MSS.* 263), where we read :—

"Goruc Arthen ap Arth Hen
Rhag ffwyr esgar ac asgen,
Llafn ynghad ynghadr aerfen ;"

i.e., Arthur ap Arth Hen against foeman's attack and injury made the blade (for use) in battle, in stout war.

But why should the origin of letters have been

connected with Ogyrven, whose character was from the first that of a dark and concealing being? One might answer that it was for the same reason which made the Irish attribute the motive of secrecy to Ogma, though that ill agreed with his solar origin: both versions, it may be, merely reflect the feeling with which the ignorant many would regard the language, whether written or spoken, of the learned few. On them the impression of mystery and awe produced by the sight of certain characters cut on wood may easily be conceived to have led them to call them the *un! gogyrven ar bymtheg*, that is, as though we called them 'the sixteen devils.' Later, however, a solar patch was, so to say, sometimes sewn on the tradition, in the shape of a reference to the three sunbeams /\\, which still hold their place as a sacred symbol or talisman at the head of Eisteddfodic announcements. But perhaps the question as to the relation in which Ogyrven stood to letters is best disposed of by asking another, namely, How it is that there exist even now people who think that knowledge and science are of the devil? In former times this was, no doubt, very much more commonly the case than it is now.

The cryptic view taken of writing by the ignorant, and incorporated in the Irish tradition touch-

ing the Ogam, has sometimes led Irish archæologists into the error of thinking that the Ogam was really a cryptic contrivance. It is true that in its last days it may have fallen into the hands of pedants, but it still remains to be shown that even a single Ogmie monument of respectable antiquity in Ireland can in any sense whatever be said to be of a cryptic nature. It is, of course, but natural that writers, who have no wish or no time to study the laws of phonetic decay, should find in early Irish names merely disguised forms of their modern continuators. Their view is also supposed to derive support from a passage in *Cormac's Glossary*, which explains the Irish word *fé* as "a wooden rod used by the Gael for measuring corpses and graves, and this rod was," we are told, "always in the burial-places of the heathen, and to take it in his hand was a horror to every one, and whatever was abominable (*adette*) to them, they used to put in ogham upon it" (Stokes' *Three Irish Glossaries*, p. lv.). Here it has been supposed that we have an allusion to a cryptic fashion of recording the sins of a deceased person; but it is difficult to see anything cryptic in the whole proceeding, unless it be the act of leaving the *fé* in the burial-place, which, in that case, may have been meant to suggest, in a deli-

cate manner implying no ignoring of the faults and shortcomings of the departed, that thenceforth his name would have the full benefit of the maxim :

“De mortuis nil nisi bonum.”

LECTURE VII.

" Nous nous sommes efforcé jusqu'à présent de reconstituer les étapes successives qui conduisirent depuis la première origine de l'art d'écrire jusqu'à l'invention définitive de l'alphabet. Nous avons vu combien cette grande et féconde invention, qui amena l'écriture à son dernier degré de perfection et en fit un instrument complètement digne de la pensée humaine, fut lente à se produire, combien péniblement elle se dégagaa, par une marche graduelle, de l'idéographisme originaire. Nous avons vu comment pour y parvenir il avait fallu la combinaison des efforts successifs et des génies variés d'un peuple philosophe, les Égyptiens, qui sut concevoir la décomposition de la syllabe et de l'abstraction de la consonne, puis d'un peuple pratique et marchand, les Phéniciens, qui rejeta tout élément idéographique et réduisit le phonétisme, demeuré seul, à l'emploi d'une figure unique pour représenter chaque articulation. Mais aussi cette invention, qui demeurera l'éternelle gloire des fils de Chanaan, ne fut faite qu'une seule fois dans le monde et sur un seul point de carte, et, une fois accomplie, elle rayonna partout de proche en proche."

—FRANÇOIS LENORMANT.


THIS lecture will be devoted mainly to conjectures, and the facts adduced, it may as well be admitted at the outset, will be few and far between. Of the latter, the principal one is the Phœnician alphabet, for which, however, we have to use the Hebrew version, as giving us the order of the letters, and also their names in a form which cannot be materially different from that which they had in Phœnician. The other leading fact is the Ogam system as attested by the oldest monuments extant in Wales and Ireland. Given

these two facts together with the connection between them, which it was attempted to establish in the last lecture, our task is to trace the successive modifications whereby the Phœnician alphabet could have yielded the Ogam as known to us.

The first thing, then, is to try to ascertain which were the fourteen or fifteen letters of the Phœnician alphabet which the inventors of the Ogam took into account. This was begun in the last lecture, and the results then obtained stand as in column ii. in the following table, which will help to mark the steps we take at this stage in the inquiry :—

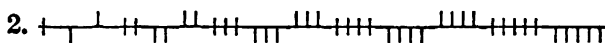
	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.	
1	aleph	a	a	a	1
2	beth	b	b	b	2
3	gimel	ch	ch	ch	3
4	daleth	d	d	d	4
5	he	—	—	—	
6	waw	—	—	—	
7	zain	—	—	—	
8	cheth	—	—	—	
9	teth	—	—	—	
10	yod	—	—	—	
11	caph	—	—	—	
12	lamed	l	l	l	5
13	mem	m	m	m	6
14	nun		n	n	7
15	samech		—	—	
16	ain		u	u	8
17	pe			p	9
18	tsade			s	10
19	koph		c	c	11
20	resh		r	r	12
21	shin, sin			s	13
22	taw		t	t	14

It appears accordingly that the Semitic letters from 4 to 12 were altogether discarded, and that we have now to set out from *mem*: consequently one cannot help referring *n*, *c*, *r*, *t* in the Ogam, to *nun*, *koph*, *resh*, *taw* respectively. Further, as *he*, *war*, *yod* had been passed over, the only remaining letter which could be treated as a vowel was *ain*, which the Greeks made into *o*. It looks as though this was treated at first as *u* in the Ogam and written III , that character having probably only acquired later the value of *u* in order to differentiate it from ++ . If this is right, then *samech* is to be regarded as thrown out, for the Ogam leaves it no room between II and III . The result so far as we have gone is shown in column iii.: still we have only 11 letters for the 22 of the Phœnician alphabet, while the Ogmik scheme offers room for 15, so we take in the remaining ones which have not been excluded, and the result is column iv., which, arranged Ogmically, gives us the following trial alphabet:—

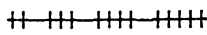
1. 
a, b, ch, d, l, m, n, u, p, s, c, r, s, t.

Here, it will be observed, we have two sibilants, namely, from *tsade* and *sin* respectively: in trying to make these square with the details of our hypothesis, one is led to conclude that the latter was

set apart for *z*: the alphabet will then stand thus:—

2. 
a, b, ch, d, l, m, n, u, p, z, c, r, s, t.

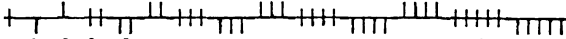
The next point to be noticed is that this shows only two vowels, *a* and *u*: even so it had the advantage in this respect over the Semitic alphabets, which had none. Now if the Ogam is connected with the Phœnician alphabet the values of ++, +++, ++++, +++++, would seem to have been at first *d*, *n*, *s*, *z*, while their only attested values are found to be *o*, *u*, *e*, *i* respectively. It follows that the consonants must have been ousted by the vowels; but as this does not appear to have been done at once or methodically, one must infer that at one time the symbols in question had two values each, the one consonantal and the other vocal: accordingly ++ had the values of *d* and *o*. This I would write shortly *do*, without, however, giving the Ogam ++ the value of the syllable *do*, but the separate values of *d* and *o*; and so with the others, thus:—


do, *nu*, *se*, *zi*.

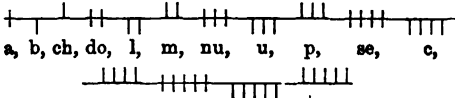
That the vowel values are here of later date than the consonantal ones, is also probable from the regular intervals at which they occur in the arrangements suggested and presupposed by the

grouping of the Irish Ogam, which has already been referred to in connection with its leading letters *b, h, m, a*, and the permutations they admit of. But how did the vowels get into these positions, and how were the consonants dislodged? We seem to have a clue to the answer in the case of *nu*, which one cannot help regarding as suggested by the letter-name *nun*: similarly *xi*, for *si*, is to be referred to the name *sin*. The case of ++, *do*, looks as if the spelling *daleth* of the Hebrew name of the fourth letter did not exactly give the pronunciation, which the first Ogmists learned to give the word as they heard it. Was the latter more nearly *doleth*, which approaches, I am told, the Arabic pronunciation of the word as used for the letter and for *door* at the present day, or are we to assume rather that they translated the word into their own language, that is into an Aryan equivalent beginning with *do*, such as would, for instance, be Welsh *dor*, and *drms* (for *dorus*), Irish *dorus*, all with *dor* for *door*, O. English *dór*, 'door'? Lastly, the vowel *e* was probably associated at first with the name *pe* or *resh*; but sooner or later the analogy of +, ++, +++, +++++, would naturally lead to the use of ++++ or *se* with the values of *s* and *e*, and perhaps even to the modification of its name into a form more nearly approaching *sede* than *tsade*. Of course, if one could

assume that the Phœnician pronunciation of the word had *e* and not *a* in its first syllable, a shorter path to the same result would lie open. In case it should appear more satisfactory to bring on the scene a *deus ex machina* and to suppose a systematic modification of the alphabet by a grammarian, it is to be observed that such a modification must have been confined to giving some or all of the Ogams new names instead of the Semitic ones. The former in the cases in question would have to be regarded as either beginning with, or consisting of the syllables *do*, *nu*, *se*, *xi*, or else *od*, *un*, *es*, *ix*, or some of both sets. For our present purposes, however, the ambiguities of the Ogam at this stage may be represented as follows:—

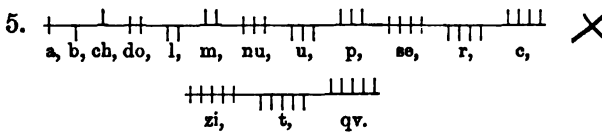
3. 
a, b, ch, do, l, m, nu, u, p, se, c, r, xi, t.

The answer to the other question as to how *d*, *n*, *s*, *z* were dislodged, will offer itself as we go on: the next step in advance which seems to have been taken appears to have been the filling of the cadre of the Ogam by the addition of a symbol for *qv*, thus:—

4. 
a, b, ch, do, l, m, nu, u, p, se, c,
r, xi, t, qv.

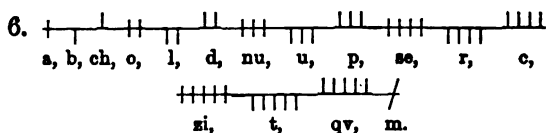
The further working of the same sense of system

seems to have sooner or later occasioned *c* and *r* to change places, so that *c* and *qv* should stand side by side:—

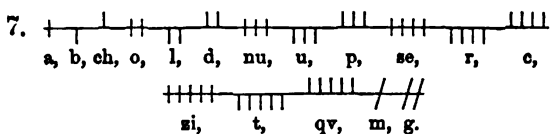


So far the ambiguities in our versions of the Ogam alphabet have been left standing. Now the symbols in places 1, 4, 7, 10, 13, have throughout retained the vowel values here attributed to them, while the consonantal values of those in 4, 7, 10, 13, are unknown to the Ogam system, as attested by our monuments. Hence the simplification was effected by providing other symbols for the four consonants in question. Let us begin with ++, *do*, and see how matters will then look. If one leaves ++ to represent *o*, how is *d* to be written? Three courses suggest themselves: *d* may be written $\perp\perp$ and a new symbol invented for *m*; it may be written $\top\top$, which would necessitate a new symbol for *l*; or lastly, a new symbol may be provided for *d* without disturbing any other letter. The last would seem to recommend itself in point of simplicity, but it has against it the circumstance that *m* is, as a matter of fact,

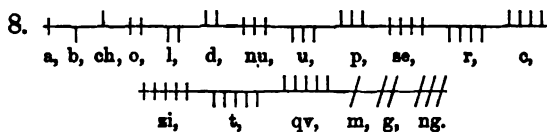
represented by / in the oblique group: the course adopted then was as follows:—



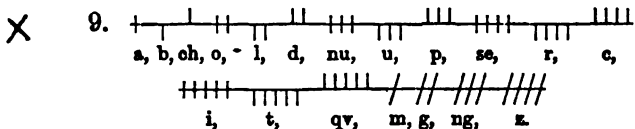
Now the foundation had been laid of a new group: the first addition was a symbol for *g*, which had been left unprovided for when *ch* took the place of *gimel*:—



The next addition was, naturally enough, to provide for *ng*:—



The next step was to dispose of *xi*: this was done by relegating *x* to the new group:—




The case of *se* seems to have been dealt with


differently, s being written $\pi\pi\pi$, and r relegated to the new group:—

10.

The symbol for *p* was found to be useless as such, owing to that sound not being used in the languages of the Celtic nations: its place was utilised for *t*, whereby *d* and *t* were brought near one another:—

11. 
a, b, ch, o, l, d, nu, u, t, e, a, c,
i, — qv, m, g, ng, z, r.

The way was now open for *nu* to be disposed of, so the consonant was placed in the place vacated by *t*: *nu* was allowed to stand so long, probably, because η was available for *u*:—

12. 
a, b, ch, o; l, d, u, u, t, e, a, c,
i, n, qv, m, g, ng, z, r.

The anomaly of having two symbols for *u* in the alphabet was disposed of by setting 𐌛 apart for *u*, Latin *v*. Otherwise the Celts have never shown themselves anxious to distinguish in writ-

Runic monuments may be roughly said to have been found in all countries inhabited by nations of Teutonic descent, but the oldest of those monuments cannot be regarded as dating before 200 A.D. There are two chief varieties of the Runic alphabet, one consisting of 16 letters and the other of 24. Dr. Wimmer undertakes to show that the former is derived from the latter, which is arranged into three groups, as follows:—

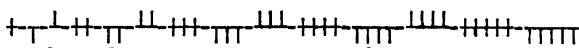
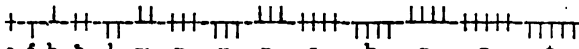
1. f, u, þ, a, r, k, g, w—8.
2. h, n, i, y, eu, p, z, s—8.
3. t, b, e, m, l, ng, o, d—8.

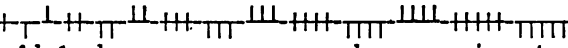
The Runes representing most of these letters turn out to be the capitals of the Roman alphabet of 23 letters, borrowed from the Romans during the Empire not long after the time of Julius Cæsar. The others are later additions formed by modifying some of the earlier ones; and they are the Runes for *g, w, y, eu, ng, d*. Thus for the form of the remaining 18 Runes one can account by the direct means of the Roman alphabet, while it leaves their arrangement a question which Dr. Wimmer, like those who have written before him, cannot answer. This, then, is our next great fact, namely, that the Teutons must, in all probability, have had a præ-Roman alphabet of 18 letters,


which at the time when they were induced to adopt the Roman characters instead of their own stood as follows :—

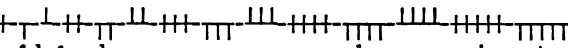
1. f, u, þ, a, r, k—6.
2. h, n, i, p, z, s—6.
3. t, b, e, m, l, o—6.

The fact of the Runic alphabet or the Futhark, as it is called from its first letters, being from the first arranged into groups, appears to be a distinct indication that it is the outcome of some such a system of writing as the Ogam. So I venture to proceed to show how it can be connected with the alphabet which has served as a key to the history of the changes which the Ogam may have undergone at the hands of the Celts. But before beginning to do so, it is to be noticed that the Celtic *b*, *ch*, *d* have to be translated into *f*, *h*, *p* in order to comply with the usual way of transcribing the Futhark : and for its earlier history the change here implied is very little more than this, as will be made clear later. Our first three alphabets as given in the foregoing series will accordingly stand thus :—

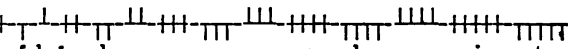
- i. 
a, f, h, þ, l, m, n, u, p, s, k, r, z, t.
- ii. 
a, f, h, þ, l, m, n, u, p, s, k, r, z, t.


iii. 
a, f, h, b, o, l, m, nu, u, p, se, k, r, zi, t.

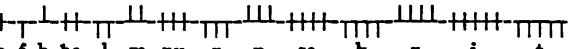
The systematising tendency confined the vowels to one kind of characters, and  ceased to be used for *u*:—

iv. 
a, f, h, b, o, l, m, nu, —, p, se, k, r, zi, t.

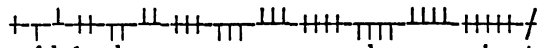
This allowed *r* to move one place forward and to enter another class:—

v. 
a, f, h, b, o, l, m, nu, r, p, se, k, —, zi, t.

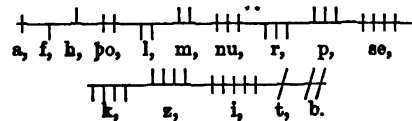
Now it was possible to separate the two values of  thus:—

vi. 
a, f, h, b, o, l, m, nu, r, p, se, k, z, i, t.

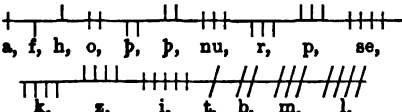
The next step seems to have been the invention of a new symbol for *t*: let us suppose it to have been an oblique score:—

vii. 
a, f, h, b, o, l, m, nu, r, p, se, k, z, i, t.

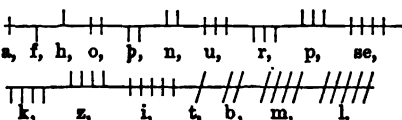
This naturally became the commencement of a new group: the first addition was a character for *b*, which had previously been expressed by the same means as *f*:—

viii. 
a, f, h, b, o, l, m, nu, r, p, se, k, z, i, t, b.

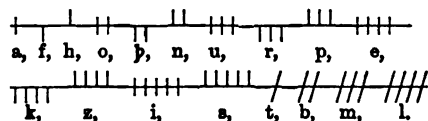
The next step taken seems to have been to separate the values of *po*. This was done by writing *p* either π or \perp , and that hesitation rendered it necessary to have new symbols for *l* and *m*:—

ix. 

Why *m* should precede *l* in the new group I cannot say, and it should be borne in mind that the Runic alphabets are by no means uniform as to the sequence of *m* and *l*: Dr. Wimmer (pp. 190–196) thinks, it is true, that the sequence was at first invariably *m l*, but I am not quite convinced by his reasoning that that of *l m* may not be equally old. Eventually \perp ceased to be used for *p*, and became available for the consonantal power of *nu*:—

x. 

Now a new symbol was invented for *s*, which should stand by the side of that for the nearly-related sound of *z*:—

xi. 

Here we have an alphabet, which I would call a

Teutonic Ogam, consisting of four kinds of digits admitting of being grouped as follows:—

- X xii. 1. a, o, u, e, i—5.
 2. f, þ, r, k —4.
 3. h, n, p, z, s—5.
 4. t, b, m, l —4.

And this is, in fact, precisely the order of the consonants in the three groups of the præ-Roman alphabet of the Teutons as proved by the Futhark; and we might stop here. For the dispersion of the vowels among the consonants in the latter creates no difficulty which we are bound to account for. It probably only marks another step in advance, when the Teutons gave up writing their Ogam on two conterminous planes, and took to the laths or planed rods of historical times, which make it hopeless now to find an early specimen, and with regard to which Dr. Wimmer quotes the words of Venantius Fortunatus in the 6th century:—

“Barbara fraxineis pingatur runa tabellis,
 Quodque papyrus agit, virgula plana valet.”

It may be supposed that it was found inconvenient to distinguish four kinds of digits on one surface, and that this led to one of them being given up. On what principle the vowels were distributed in the other groups it is not easy to see; but the

broad vowels *a*, *u*, are placed in the *F*-group, the narrow vowel *i* in the *H*-group, and in the remaining one the transition vowels *e* and *o*, which were once supposed not to have existed in the early stages of the Teutonic languages; but that theory is now exploded:—

- × xiii. 1. *f*, *u*, *þ*, *a*, *r*, *k*—6.
 2. *h*, *n*, *i*, *p*, *z*, *s*—6.
 3. *t*, *b*, *e*, *m*, *l*, *o*—6.

These were the letters for which the Teutons adopted the Roman characters; a single instance will suffice to show how additions were made to this Futhark. The Rune for *k* was the Latin *C* reduced into straight lines, thus <: two of these placed thus × were invented to represent *g*, and appended to the *F*-group by the side of the Rune for *k*: somewhat similarly was formed the Rune for *ng*, which was placed in the *T*-group. The number of the Runes in the *H*-group was kept on a level with the other two by the invention of one for *y* (as in Mod. English *ye*, Old Eng. *ge*), the place of which was settled by its affinity for the vowel *i*:—

- iv. 1. *f*, *u*, *þ*, *a*, *r*, *k*, *g*—7.
 2. *h*, *n*, *i*, *y*, *p*, *z*, *s*—7.
 3. *t*, *b*, *e*, *m*, *l*, *ng*, *o*—7.

Then Runes for *æ* and *d* seem to have been added to the first and third groups respectively :—


- xv. 1. f, u, þ, a, r, k, g, w—8.
 2. h, n, i, y, p, z, s —7.
 3. t, b, e, m, l, ng, o, d—8.

To make the second group of the same number of Runes as the other two, and of the same number of vowels in particular, the doubtful expedient was resorted to of inserting a diphthong in it :—

- xvi. 1. f, u, þ, a, r, k, g, w—8.
 2. h, n, i, y, eu, þ, z, s—8.
 3. t, b, e, m, l, ng, o, d—8.

It is to be observed with respect to the shorter Futhark of sixteen letters which Dr. Wimmer derives from the longer one, that, while it has dropped three of the eighteen original Runes and modified the values of some of the others, it includes only one of the six post-Roman ones ; so that it may still perhaps be questioned whether the other five ever got all into general use. But this and many other points, on which I should like to have dwelt, do not affect the order in which the Runes are grouped, and by means of which the præ-Roman alphabet of the Teutons seems to prove itself to be of the same origin as the Ogam of the Celts.

Here is the place to call attention to the direction of the writing: the Ogam is, as a rule, written from right to left, and as to the Runes, Dr. Wimmer concludes that they were originally so written too, but that, as they very readily lent themselves to the contrary direction, the latter also was at times adopted with the former, giving rise to *βουστροφηδόν* writing of the ordinary kind. There was, however, a simpler Bustrophedon which he calls snake-twisted (*slangedrejet*), in the course of which the person writing turned the object he wrote upon round, or, where that was not feasible, as in the case of a large stone, shifted his own position: the writing would then run thus:—

A, b, c, d, e, f, g, 

ᵹᵹ ‘d ‘o ‘u ‘u ‘l ‘x

This you will have noticed was one of the ordinary methods pursued by the writers of the Ogmic monuments of Wales. In the case of the Runes, Dr. Wimmer admits that it is common enough on the later monuments, whereas he has found it only on one from the older Iron Age, and then in conjunction with the common or inverted Bustrophedon. Nevertheless, if Rune-writing is but a continuation of the Ogmic system, it can only be

an accident that it has not been more frequently met with on the older monuments. The inverted Boustrophedon is to be met with in some of the oldest Greek inscriptions, and occasionally in Etruscan ones, whereas the simpler one is rarely detected in Greece or Italy, and its appearance in Wales and Teutonic countries is a point in favour of the view that the Runes and the Ogam are connected with one another. Why both were written mostly from left to right, while the Phœnicians wrote from right to left is a question which I am not prepared to meet; but the answer is perhaps to be sought in the fact, if such I am right in thinking it to be, that when cutting a series of scores or notches on a piece of wood, one is able to work with more ease and neatness by beginning at the end nearest one's self than at the other.

Assuming that it has been shown to be probable that the Ogam and the præ-Runic alphabet of the Teutons are connected, one may ask how they may be connected? that is, are we to regard one as derived from the other, or both as independently derived from the Phœnician alphabet, whether directly or indirectly? Clearly one has no business to try the latter alternative, unless the other turn out inadmissible: then our first business is to try to ascertain whether the Teutonic alphabet is derived from the Celtic one or *vice versa*. Not

to depart from the order we have hitherto followed, we shall in the first place suppose the Celtic entitled to precedence. In the absence of historical data the question must be settled on phonological ground. We have a ready test in the Ogmic *ch*: how is it that, while *beth* and *daleth* yielded Ogmic *b* and *d*, *gimel* on the other hand yielded *ch*, and not *g*? To this the Celtic languages can give no answer, but the Teutonic ones can, which compels us to suppose the Celts to have had their Ogam alphabet from the Teutons, and derives confirmation from the fact that the sound of *ϕ* or *f* remained without being provided for, at least by a strictly Ogmic symbol. This leads me to consider very briefly some points in the phonology of the Teutonic languages, which, I feel assured, you will consider no hardship, seeing that the English we are at this moment using is one of them, and that it is nearly related to our own Celtic vernacular.

When it is said with regard, for instance, to the words *πτερόν* and *feather* that the *f* of the latter is the *p* of the former subjected to profection, this assigns only the limits of the change: at any rate one of the latest writers on the subject would place between *p* and Teutonic *f* the intermediate steps of *b* and *v*: I allude to Mr. Henry Sweet in his *History of English Sounds* (pp. 76–81), and in an

appendix to his edition of *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* (pp. 496–504). The conclusions he draws in the latter may be tabulated thus:—

Aryan Parent-speech.	Teutonic.	
	Stage i.	Stage ii.
T D DH	d t dd	dh (th). t. d.
P B BH	b p bb	v (f). p. b.
K G GH	g, gh, kh k gg	kh, h,—. k. g.

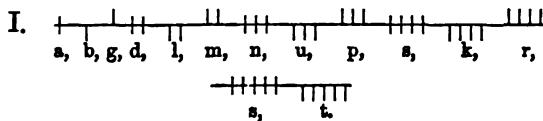
If this is nearly correct, as I suppose it to be, one would have to suppose the Teutons to have got their Ogam at a date corresponding to the first Teutonic stage in this scheme, that is after they had reduced Aryan *t* into *d*, but before the latter had been reduced to *dh* (= *th* in *this*), whence later *th* (as in *thin*). Here it will be observed that the guttural surd was subjected to more changes than the corresponding dental and labial. "The explanation must be sought," Mr. Sweet thinks, "in an important phonetic law: *general weakening tendencies attack the strongest articula-*

tions first. Accordingly we find that while original *d* and *b* [our Teutonic stage *i.*] have only passed through one stage of weakening, original initial *g* has passed through no less than three: *gh*, *kh*, and *h*, in the last reaching the extreme of phonetic decrepitude" (Appendix, p. 502). That is, the changes in question would stand somewhat as follows if we regard only their chronological order:—

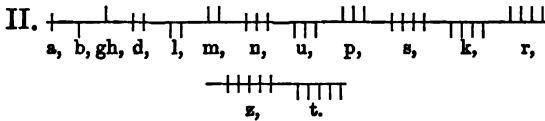
Phœnician	.	.	b(eth),	g(imel),	d(aleth).
Teutonic 1	.	.	b,	g,	d.
„ 2	.	.	b,	gh,	d.
„ 3	.	.	b,	kh,	d.
„ 4	.	.	v,	h,	dh.

From this it appears that Teutonic phonology fully meets the difficulty which presented itself in our former supposition, and that we have, therefore, to abide by the other, namely, that the Celts got their Ogam from the Teutons, and the latter directly or indirectly from the Phœnicians.

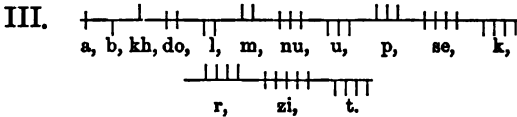
Now we are in a position to bring our supposed Teutonic Ogams into more complete harmony with the history of phonetic decay and change in the languages of that name. The first would be more correctly written thus:—



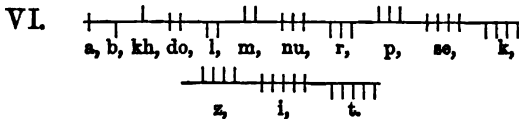
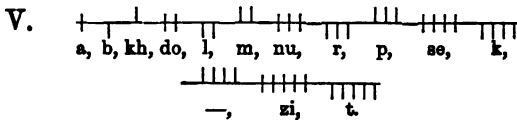
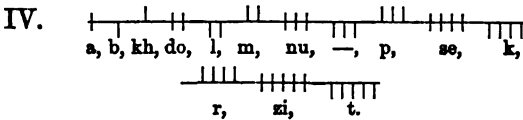
In No. II. we should have to recognise the change of *g* into *gh*, thus :—

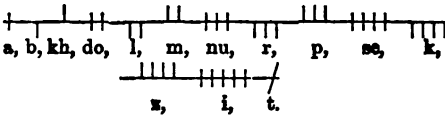


In the next we have to suppose a further change of *gh* into *kh* or *ch*:—

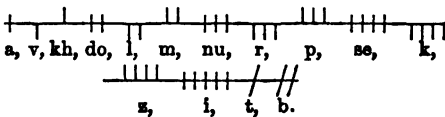


This is now the stage in which the Teutonic alphabet must have been when the Celts became acquainted with it and borrowed it, if, as I believe, we are right in thinking them to have done so. Alphabets IV., V., VI., VII. will now stand thus:—

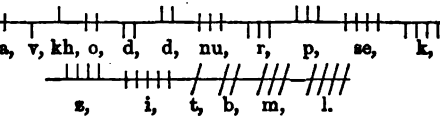


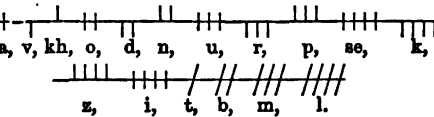
VII. 

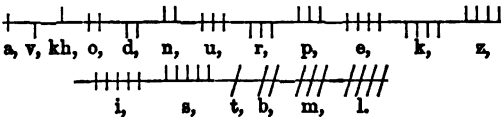
At this stage one finds reasons to conclude that *b* had been reduced to *v* (as in *vat*), but not so universally as to make a character for *b* unnecessary: on the contrary alphabet No. VIII. provides for it:—

VIII. 

Alphabets IX., X., XI., XII., and XIII. will then run thus:—

IX. 

X. 

XI. 

XII.
 1. a, o, u, e, i—5.
 2. v, d, r, k —4.
 3. kh, n, p, z, s—5.
 4. t, b, m, l —4.

XIII.

1. v, u, d, a, r, k—6.
2. kh, n, i, p, z, s—6.
3. t, b, e, m, l, o—6.

Now we have come somewhere near the time when the Teutons translated their Ogmic digits into the letters of the Roman alphabet; and it is found among other things that *h* had been so far modified in sound, that is as an initial, and especially perhaps as the initial of its own name, as to allow of its being represented by Latin *H*, whence the Rune for it. *D* got to be represented by the Latin *D*, whence the Rune *þ*, which is merely *D* with the perpendicular prolonged; and Dr. Wimmer thinks he recognises in the Rune for the sonant sibilant the *Z* of the Roman alphabet. It is not very clear why *F* was chosen to stand for *ƿ*: was it that *F* represented the Latin consonant which most nearly approached Teutonic *v*, or was it that even then the latter, as an initial, had begun to assume the sound of *f* as in English and German at the present day? The foregoing alphabet will now stand thus:—

XIV.

1. f, u, þ, a, r, k—6.
2. h, n, i, p, z, s—6.
3. t, b, e, m, l, o—6.

At this stage it is probable that the *H*-Rune stood not only for *h* but also for *ch* and *g*, until at

length the last-mentioned consonant got to be thought of as more nearly related to *k*, and a symbol for it invented from the *K*-Rune as in alphabet XIV. :—

- XV. 1. f, u, þ, a, r, k, g—7
 2. h, n, i, y, p, z, s—7.
 3. t, b, e, m, l, ng, o—7.

The last addition of importance to the Futhark was a Rune for *d*, which was formed by joining together two þ-Runes. The necessity for this arose from the fact that the sound represented by þ underwent, more or less generally, a change from *d* into *dħ* (liable under certain circumstances to be further modified into *tħ* in some of the Teutonic languages). Not only were these the last changes to which the Futhark bears testimony, but it seems doubtful whether they have ever been gone through by some of the languages in question. Mr. Sweet, however, is inclined to think otherwise: his words are—"At first sight we are tempted to assume retention of an older pronunciation, at least in the case of Dutch and German, where the *d* appears in the earliest documents, but the non-occurrence of an analogous *b* for the actual *v* or *f* makes it almost certain that the *d* in Dutch and German, like the corresponding stop of the Scandinavian languages

has arisen from earlier *dh*" (App. p. 499). The Futhark, then, in its complete state is the following, which has already been more than once mentioned:—

- XVI. 1. f, u, þ, a, r, k, g, w—8.
 2. h, n, i, y, eu, p, z, s—8.
 3. t, b, e, m, l, ng, o, d—8.

It is right, however, to state that some Futharks lack some of the additional Runes alluded to, while others have several more than have here been mentioned; moreover, while the latter are placed at the end, there is, as might be expected, some difference as to where the former are inserted in the Futharks containing them. Thus on a knife found in the Thames in 1857, and guessed to date about the year 700, the order is as follows:—

1. f, u, þ, a, r, k, g, w—8.
 2. h, n, i, y, eu, p, z, s—8.
 3. t, b, e, ng, d, l, m, o—8.

It will here be observed that the Runes for *ng* and *d* have been inserted next each other after *e*, but without inverting their order, in the third group, which is otherwise highly interesting as giving us the variant sequence *l, m*.

Before proceeding further a word may not be here out of place as to the number of changes crowded into our conjectured history of the Ogam,

whether Celtic or Teutonic. In the first place, then, that crowding is more apparent than real, as the Ogam seems to have been many centuries in use before the oldest specimens known to us were produced. On the other hand it is not to be overlooked, that an alphabet like the Ogam, which is composed of scores and groups of scores would naturally change much faster than if it were not so, as a change in respect of one symbol would naturally induce other changes, which need not take place in an alphabet consisting of symbols the individuality of which depends on their difference of form.

Now I shall have to say something on the difficult question of the names of these letters; but I can only call your attention to a few of the leading facts, passing by many points which I cannot profess to deal with. Any one, however, who wishes to make a special study of this subject will have to consult Mr. George Stephens's massive work on *The Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* (London and Copenhagen, 1866-67). Perhaps I could not here do better than place side by side a certain number of the alphabets in point for your inspection. The names in column i. are from an alphabet contained in an old English manuscript (*Cotton. Otho. B. 10*) now lost: it has been hesitatingly assigned to the 9th century by Mr.

	i.	ii.	iii.	iv.	v.	vi.	vii.	viii.	ix.
f }	feoh	fe, feoh	feu	feho	fé	fas	feh	beithi	bethi
b }	beoro	bero	brita	birith	bjarkan	bergaun	u.ir	...	ur
u	wen	uyn	ur	hur	úr	ar f	...	uineann	...
p }	born	born	thur	thorn	...	turs	dexu	fernn	fern
d }	daeg	daeg	...	...	...	...	...	clair	dur
a	os	os	os	asoh	ós	or f	...	aball	alm
r	rad	ræda	rat	rehit	reiß	raid	rait	coll	ruis
k	cen	cen	chaon	chen	kaun	caun	cuail	coll	coll
(q)	oweorð	...	...	chon	...	...	quith	quilleann	quert
g	gyfu	geofu	...	gibu	ár	ar f	gúchr	gius	gort
y	ger	gaer	ar	...	...	...	...	...	...
ng	ing	ing	...	...	...	...	...	...	ngedal
h	hægl	hægil	hægal	hægle	hagl	hægal	huil	age(ith)	huath
n	nyd	næd	naut	not	nauf	naun	nihn	nendait	nin
i	is	is	is	his	fas	isar	iechuit	iubar	idad
p	peorð	peord	...	perch	...	...	parth	...	...
z	eolhx	ilcs	...	helabe	...	...	iel	sail drong	straiph
s	sigel	sygil	sol	suhil	sól	sol	surg	sail	sail
t	tir	ti	tir f	tac	tyr	diur	traus	trom	tindi
z	...	...	...	ziu	...	...	...	...	...
e	eh	eh	...	eho	...	...	egui	eden	edad
m	man	mon	man	man	maðr	mann	muin	midin	muin
l	lagu	lagu	lagu	lagv	lög	lagor	louber	leam	luis
o	ethel	oedil	...	othil	...	...	or	ferus	onn

Stephens, whose No. 5 it forms: a copy of it is also given in fac-simile by Dr. Wimmer, p. 79. Column ii. is taken from an alphabet in a Vienna MS. (*Codex Salisb.* 140) which Grimm supposed to be a transcript from an English original brought to Germany towards the end of the 8th century: the transcript is considered as dating from the end of the 9th century or the beginning of the 10th by Dr. Wimmer, who gives a fac-simile of it by the side of the one just mentioned. Column iii. is from the so-called *Abecedarium Nordmannicum* of a St. Gall manuscript of the 9th century: it forms Stephens's No. 6, and is given in fac-simile by Wimmer, p. 191. Column iv. is copied from Stephens's No. 46, and comes from a Vienna manuscript (*Cod.* 64): it appears to be of High German origin. Column v. is from Wimmer's names of the letters of the shorter Futhark as he finds it used in the later Iron Age in the North, p. 153. Column vi. is the same, as given in the Book of Ballymote, an Irish MS. of the 14th century, extracts from which have been published, with tracings of the original, by Mr. G. M. Atkinson in the *Journal of the Kilkenny Archæological Association* for 1874, pp. 205-236: *ar* for *ur* is due possibly to a clerical error, and the abbreviated name of the *B*-Rune is perhaps to be read *bergann*. Column vii. is from the alphabet attri-

buted to Nemnivus in a manuscript of Welsh origin, now in the Bodleian, and dating from the 9th century. Stephens's No. 53 seems to be a copy of it, though not a very exact one. The account given in the original of the history of this alphabet is more curious than correct: "Nemnius istas reperit literas uituperante quidam [sic] scolasticus saxonici generis quia brittones non haberent rudimentum at ipse subito ex machinatione mentis suæ formauit eas ut uituperationem et hebetitudinem deieceret gentis suæ." Then follow the Runes, which Nemnivus cannot have invented; so that nothing remains to be attributed to his inventiveness excepting perhaps some of the Welsh names of the letters, and that only in a very qualified sense. Columns viii. and ix. are taken from the extracts already referred to as made by Mr. Atkinson from the Book of Ballymote. The names here given to the letters are those of trees and shrubs; and column ix. does not materially differ from the letter-names already cited from O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, excepting that the spelling in the former is older.

Beginning with the first six or Teutonic columns, we have *feoh*, *ðorn*, *os*, *rad*, *cen*, *hægl*, *nyd*, *peorð*, *eolhx*, *sigel*, *tir*, *man*, *lagu*, occupying positions where some traces of the Semitic names might be expected. It is, however, clear at a glance that

we have here to do with several which are beyond all doubt Teutonic. Thus *hægl* and its congeners are the Teutonic words for *hail*, chosen probably with a view to their suggesting the two sounds of the Ogam ¹, namely *hh* (or *h*) and *g*. O. Norse *sól* means *sun*, and O. English *sigel* or *sygel* appears to have had the same signification. *Eolhx* or *ilcs* was, according to Dr. Wimmer, p. 119, in an earlier stage *elhyax*, *elhix* (Scandinavian *elhir*, owing to the change of *x* to *r*), containing the *Z*-sound as its final, because it did not occur initially: compare the case of *ing*. The name, however, led to confusion and misunderstandings as to the value of the Rune, which I need not enumerate. *Lagu* in O. English meant *lam* and *lake*, with the latter of which the O. Norse *lögr* appears to agree; but in the St. Gall *Abecedarium* we have the Rune called *lagu the leohtu*, which is duly rendered in Nemnivus' alphabet by *louber*, i.e., *lleufer*, 'a light, a luminary.' Neither have the extant names of the old *A*-Rune anything to do with the Semitic name of *aleph*, as they are supposed to go back to an earlier Teutonic form, *ansuz*, which, becoming in the course of phonetic decay *ans*, *os*, &c., led to various modifications of the old Rune: one of these had the name *aac*, *ac*, 'oak,' another *asc*, *asch*, 'ash.' In passing it may be mentioned that somewhat similar changes

occurred in connection with the *O*-Rune, and that in the Scandinavian languages *Gér*, *Yer*, or *Yár*, the name of the *Y*-Rune was, in consequence of another process of phonetic decay, reduced to *ár*, which supplied the North with another *A*-Rune. The reason why the name of the *Y*-Rune is mostly given as beginning with *g* is the same why *ye* and *yes* are in *O*. English written *ge* and *ges*, which cannot be here dwelt upon.

Now there remain to be traced to Semitic origin the Rune-names *feoh*, *þorn*, *rad*, *cen*, *nyd*, *peorð*, *tir*, *man*, namely to *beth*, *doleth* (for *daleth*), *resh*, *koph*, *nun*, *pe*, *taw*, *mem*. Now, supposing the Teutons to have adopted these names with their knowledge of letters, directly or indirectly, from their Semitic teachers, they would, in compliance with a law which obtained in Teutonic at a very early date, curtail them (see Schleicher's *Compendium*,² pp. 338–340) into *be*, *dol*, *re*, *co*, *nu*, *me*, leaving *pe* intact, and probably treating *taw* as *tau*. Later they would seem to have completed these syllables into words with definite meanings, apart from their being names of the letters. Thus *be*, passing into *ve*, *fe*, was extended into *feoh*, *fech*, whence also *feu* and other shortened forms, all of which are phases of the word which in Mod. H. German is written *vieh*, 'a beast.' *Re* was made into some such a word as

ræda: *rad* and *rat* with the vowel *a* owe that vowel only to the intimate connection between *a* and *æ* in Teutonic declensions: compare the case of *man*, to be noticed shortly. Other forms of the Rune-name not given in the table are *ræð*, *rehir*, *rehrt*. One finds a trace of the name *ko* (from *koph*) in *kaun*, *chaon*, *con*, and *chon*, some of which have in some alphabets been appropriated by *q*: besides *cen*, it is found that *chen* and *ché* are given, suggested perhaps by *ce*, the Latin name for *c*; but it is far more likely that the vowel *e* was selected to indicate that the consonant had a palatal sound, and to distinguish it from the corresponding velar sound, for which it is said an English Rune called *kalk* was used: see Möller's *Palatalreihe* (Leipsic, 1875), pp. 18, 27. *Nu* (from *nun*) is more regularly represented in *nyd*, *naut*, *naud*, *not*, 'need.' *Pe* is lengthened into *peorð*, *peord*: *pert*, *perd*, *peoih* also occur, but as to *perc* and *perch* they seem to be profections of *berc* or *beorc*, the name of *b*, for which accordingly other names, such as *birith* and the like, were provided. *Tau* treated as *tau* appears to have naturally led into the Teutonic forms corresponding to Greek *Zeús*, Vedic *Dyu*, represented in English by *Tues-day* for *Tives-dæg*: the O. Norse name of the same divinity in the Edda is given as *Týr*, genitive *Tys*, accusative *Ty*; the O. H.

German forms are *Ziu* or *Zio*, genitive *Zimes*. In most of the alphabets where *dæg*, *dag*, is projected into *tac*, the *T*-Rune becomes *Ziu*. How *tir* and *ti* stand with respect to *Týr* and *Ziu* is not clear. *Me* extended into *men* would lead into the declension of *man*, which would then naturally become its name, as will be seen from the following:—

O. ENGLISH.				O. NORSE.
<i>Singular.</i>				
<i>Nom.</i>	man, mon.	.	.	mannr, maðr.
<i>Gen.</i>	mannes.	.	.	manns.
<i>Dat.</i>	men.	.	.	manni.
<i>Acc.</i>	man.	.	.	mann.
<i>Voc.</i>	man.			
<i>Inst.</i>	men.			
<i>Plural.</i>				
<i>Nom.</i>	men.	.	.	menn, mennr, mæðr.
<i>Gen.</i>	manná.	.	.	manna.
<i>Dat.</i>	mannum.	.	.	mönnum.
<i>Acc.</i>	men.	.	.	menn.
<i>Voc.</i>	men.			
<i>Inst.</i>	mannum.			

The presence of *n* also in *wen*, *uyn*, the name of the *W*-Rune, would seem to indicate that the lengthening of the Rune-names into significant words belongs mostly to a time after the Teutons had adopted the characters of the Roman alphabet. The thorny case has been reserved to the last: the name of the Rune in question occurs variously as *þorn*, *dorn*, *þur*, *þors*, *purs*, *doro*, and *derhu*.

The shortest form to be inferred from these appears to be *dor* or *por*, which, not being *do* or *po*, agrees well with the supposition that we have to set out from *doleth*. On the other hand, I have no reason to give for the change of *l* into *r*. Join to this the difficulty as to the vowel, and it must be admitted that the history of the names of this Rune is far from satisfactorily made out. This does not, however, materially affect the foregoing theory: for as far as regards the supposition that the Ogam ++ acquired the two values of *d* and *o* by reason of its name one might, had one adopted a different arrangement, argue backwards from *porn*, *pors*, instead of the other way from *daleth*.

Let us now turn to the Welsh and Irish columns of the table. The Welsh words *cusil*, *guichr*, *huil*, *iechuit*, *traus* may, for anything one can now say to the contrary, be the ones which suggested themselves to Nemnivus on the spur of the moment: *braut*, *rat*, *parth*, *muin*, *louber* are also Welsh words, but a glance at the Teutonic and Irish names of the corresponding letters makes it highly improbable that the choice made of them was altogether accidental. *Dexu*, *nihn*, *surg*, *egui* are obscure; but *dexu* reminds one of *derhu* in Stephens's alphabet 47, *nihn* of Irish *nin*, and *egui* of *eh* and *eho*: *ieil* was borrowed probably

from a Teutonic source, and so undoubtedly was *fich*. Not only were the writers of the mediæval tracts on Irish Ogam well acquainted with Runic alphabets, but most of the points of similarity between the Celtic names, whether Welsh or Irish, and the Teutonic ones point to the direct influence of the Runes, more especially after the coming of the Northmen and their settlement in Ireland. This circumstance greatly diminishes the value of the evidence afforded by the Celtic alphabets cited. In two or three instances, however, we seem to detect in them traces of an earlier tradition coming down possibly from the time when the Celts adopted the Ogam from the Teutons. To this category I would refer Welsh *alar* and Irish *ailm*, as reflecting, hardly by mere accident, the first syllable of *aleph*. Similarly Irish *dur*, also *duir* and *dair*, 'oak,' are remarkable for their agreement with Teutonic *thur*, *thor-n*, *thor-s*: possibly *dexu* is a clerical error for *deru*, now *derm*, 'oak.' As to *beith*, *beithi*, *bethi*, 'birch,' it may be that we have here only a translation of *beorc*, 'birch,' or else forms of much older standing, being the Irish extensions of the Semitic *beth*, borrowed from the Teutons before they had discarded the final consonant of the word. However this may be, the position of *beith* at the head of the Irish alphabet was probably what led to the

unlucky freak of giving all the other letters the names of trees and shrubs. The reason why the names of the three letters in question should have escaped the later influence of the Runic alphabets, would be that the Runes originally corresponding to them had in the meantime changed their values, that for *a* having become *o* or *ō*, and that for *b* having acquired the value *v*, *f*, and that for *d* the value of *dh*, *th*.

Not to pursue this subject of the names of the Runes further, it may be said that some of them appear to favour the view that the latter are descended from the Phœnician alphabet, which is, however, only a portion of the theory which I have endeavoured to set forth in this and the previous lecture. Its chief points are the following:—

The Ogam alphabet is of a double origin, forming a sort of compromise between the East and the West.

The characters used, if considered merely as writing and without reference to their meaning, are European and traceable to the quaternary period: the same may probably be said of the direction of the writing from left to right.

The order of the letters, on the other hand, and some of their names, admit of being traced to a Phœnician origin.

The Celts appear to have got their Ogams from

the Teutons, who seem to have used an alphabet of that description before they adopted the characters of the Roman alphabet.

Here I stop, leaving unanswered such questions as the following, which the foregoing conjectures naturally suggest:—Were the Teutons the original framers of the Ogam alphabet, or did they merely adopt it from another nation in more direct communication with the East? Was it based on some prehistoric version of the Phœnician alphabet in use in Italy or Greece, among Slavonians or Scythians, the latter of whom Eustathius mentions as in the habit of writing on small boards or wooden tablets (*συνίδες*)? Could the Teutons have come in direct contact with the Phœnicians on the coast of Thrace, or on the Danube? Had they a trade-route connecting Germany and the Baltic with the Euxine or the Bosphorus? It is enough for our present purpose to find that there is no reason to think it impossible for a knowledge of letters of Phœnician origin to have reached Germany in very early times; and even the mythical history of the Greek alphabet brings Cadmus not only into Greece, but also into Thrace and in contact with the Illyrians.

There can be no objection to these attempts to divine the history of Ogmic writing being ended where they were begun, namely, with the mention

of a few points which seem to favour the conjecture that the Irish adopted it from the Kymry. In the last lecture it was suggested that if we might venture to follow the supposed westward course of civilisation and culture, we might assume the Ogam to have made its way from Britain to Ireland: in support of this application of that generalisation, we may appeal to the analogous case of the introduction into Ireland of the Kymric way of forming the letters of the Roman alphabet, whether as debased capitals or as the still further modified characters which have ever since been used in writing and printing Irish: nay, I would go further, as will presently be seen, and suggest that it was the very same men who taught the Irish to cut Roman letters on stone who also taught them to do so with the Ogam, whether they were previously acquainted with the use of it on slips of wood or not. An early specimen of the more modified form of the Roman letters or, as I would term them, early Kymric letters, occurs on a stone at Inchaguile in the county of Galway, which reads in mixed capitals and Kymric minuscules *Lie Luguædon Macçi Menuek*^x; and we meet with slightly debased capitals on the Killeen Cormac stone reading *IVVENE DRVVIDES*, with *NE* conjoint and the *S* reversed. The view here advocated is supported also, as far as it goes, by

the fact that the Ogmic method of writing fell into disuse and oblivion much earlier in Wales than in Ireland. The same thing would also follow from the supposition that the Celts did not invent the Ogam but adopted it from the Teutons, who may be thought to have more readily come in contact with the Celts of Britain than with those of the sister isle, whether directly, or indirectly through the Gauls of the
X Continent. X

Of Irish epitaphs in Ogam those where we meet with full case-endings form, in all probability, the oldest class. One of these is the Killeen Cormac stone, reading *Umanos Awi Emacattos*, and in Latin *Juvene Druvides* in Roman capitals as already stated. Here the presence of the two inscriptions strongly reminds one of those of Wales, not to mention the fact pointed out on another occasion, that the Latinity is such as might have been learned in Wales. Altogether one is tempted to attribute the whole to some Irish ecclesiastic who had studied in South Wales, or at home under an Irish teacher who had derived his ideas of Latin from some such a source. In any case it dates, no doubt, after the introduction of Christianity into Ireland.

Perhaps the most interesting stone in Ireland

is that on Brandon Mountain, said to read on one of its angles,

|||||/////+++++/++++|||++++///// /////++TTTT

i.e., *Qorimitirros*, in which Irish archæologists rightly recognise the genitive of a word which meant *priest*. Later it appears as *cruimter*, but most commonly *cruimther* and *cruimhther*, genitive *cruimthir*: it is repeatedly written *crubthir* in the Latin life of St. Cybi published in the *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 183-187. An interesting article occurs on *cruimther* in Cormac's Glossary, which is rendered thus by Mr. Stokes:—"Cruimther, *i.e.* the Gaelic of *presbyter*. In Welsh it is *premter*: *prem* 'worm' in the Welsh is *cruim* in the Gaelic. *Cruimther*, then, is not a correct change of *presbyter*: but it is a correct change of *premter*. The Britons, then, who were in attendance on Patrick when preaching were they who made the change, and it is *primter* that they changed; and accordingly the literati of the Britons explained it, *i.e.* as the worm is bare, sic decet presbyterum, who is bare of sin and quite naked of the world, &c., secundum eum qui dixit ego sum vermis, &c." The literati of the Britons are proved by the allusion to *prem*, now *pryf*, 'worm,' to have been men of considerable etymological resource, but their attempt to connect

premt̃er with it must be declared a failure, the word being in fact merely the form taken in Welsh by the Latin *præbitor*, ‘giver, supplier, purveyor.’ The following hexameters quoted by Ducange under *præbendarius* are to the point:—

“Præbitor est, qui dat præbendas : suscipiens has
Præbendarius est, sicut legista docet nos.”

And *præbendarius* was otherwise called *proven-darius*—“qui provendam seu præbendam percipit,” whence the Cornish *prounder*, *pronter*, ‘a priest or parson.’ If we look at the Latin *præbitor* it is probable that the O. Welsh form, here given as *premt̃er* and *printer*, would have been, more correctly reproduced, *premitr*, or, with the irrational vowel expressed, *premitir* or *premiter*, which had it not become obsolete would now be *prefydr* or possibly *prefydr̃*—the equivalence of *m* and *b* has already been instanced in the case of the bilingual stone at Pool Park near Ruthin. From *premitr* the Irish would appear to have formed *Qorimiterr*, and the modification of *i* into *u* in *cruimther* and *crubthir* must be due to the influence of the *v* in *qv*: compare the case of O. Irish *cóic*, ‘five.’ Thus the genitive *Qorimitirr-os*, later *cruimthir* is an equivalent of the Latin *præbitor-is*, whence it would seem that the genitive ending of impari-syllabic nouns in Irish was *os* corresponding to

Latin *-is*, Greek *-os*, Sanskrit *-as*, which is also the way Mr. Stokes would explain *Umanos* as the equivalent, on the Killeen Cormac stone, of *IVVENE[s]* for *Juvenis*. But what interests one most is the *qv* which we find here for Latin *p*; and this raises the question as to who effected the substitution—was it the Irish or was it the Welsh? If the latter they must have done so when they had as yet no *p* in their language, and when *qv* was the nearest approach they could make to it: in that case the Irish adopted the initial as they heard the word from Patrick or his followers, and in Welsh itself the *qv* here, as everywhere else, would in the course of phonetic decay be modified back again later into *p*. But the substitution of *qv* for *p* is a greater change than the facts of the case seem to warrant us in supposing—the usual assumption that the Irish substituted *c* for *p* ignores them altogether and is out of the question. By *qv* I mean the combination written *qu* in German, that is a velar *k* followed by a *v* pronounced by means of the lips and without the assistance of the teeth, which, on the other hand, take part in the pronunciation of English *v*, Welsh *f*: accordingly, as Early Welsh *qv* has yielded *p*, and as the language may be supposed to have proceeded in this instance, as elsewhere, gradually and not by leaps or strides, I would assume the steps to have been

successively *qv*, *pv*, *p*. Now supposing the Kymry to have borrowed Latin words with *p* at a time when their *qv* had become *pv*, a combination which may be heard in such French words as *puis*, and when they had no other *p* in their language, nothing would seem more natural than that they should unconsciously substitute their *pv* for Latin *p* and make such a word as *præbitor* into *porebitr* or *poremitr*: when the Irish came to adopt the latter from their Celtic neighbours, they, as not being used to the sound of *p*, would probably be forced to change *pv* into *qv*, which is a much smaller change than the substitution of *qv* for *p*. This seems to have been also the history of the words—O. Ir. *clúm*, Welsh *pluf*, ‘plumage,’ O. Ir. *corcur*, Welsh *porphor*, ‘purple,’ Ir. *caisc*, Welsh *pasc*, ‘Easter,’ Ir. *cland*, Welsh *plant*, ‘children,’ from Latin *pluma*, *purpura*, *pascha*, and *planta*, to which one might possibly add Irish *fidchell* from an early form of the Welsh *gwyddbwyll*, ‘chess or draughts:’ the passage of these words and of *præbitor* through or from Welsh into Irish I should assign, roughly speaking, to the time between 450 and 650. Both on account of the labialising of *qv* and of borrowing proper names and other words from Latin, which involved *p* the Kymry had occasion for a special symbol for *p* in Ogam: we have met with two such, and one of them was borrowed by the

Irish to represent the later Irish *p* produced by the provection of *b*, as in *poi* already alluded to as occurring in an epitaph reading *Broinioonas poi netat Trenalugos*. But this appears to have been the result of acquaintance with the last addition to the Kymric Ogam rather than a matter of orthographical necessity as *poi* continued to be written also *boi* "*fuit* or *qui fuit*:" for instances of *p* and *b* in the Irish verb 'to be' see the *Grammatica Celtica*,² pp. 491-501. After the Irish had developed the sound of *p* in their own language in the way alluded to, there was, of course, no reason why they should modify it when they came to borrow ecclesiastical terms involving it from Latin in the 8th and 9th centuries: such is, probably, the origin of the majority of the words which show *p* in later Irish.

The stone on which *Qvrimittirros* occurs is inscribed with a cross; the same is the case with the one reading *Tria magva Mailagni*, and probably with many more, but I have no adequate information on this point. So, taking all things together, I should be inclined to ascribe the earliest Irish monuments in Ogam to the 6th or the latter part of the 5th century, and there seems to be no reason why the Ogmic method of writing may not have been first introduced into Ireland by Kymric missionaries or by Irish eccle-

siastics who had been educated in Wales. There is, however, a notion abroad that the Ogam was essentially pagan, but in reality it was no more so than the Roman alphabet: the only distinction we find made between them was simply this—when Latin was written, the characters used were the letters of the Roman alphabet more or less modified, but when Early Welsh was to be written the Ogam was resorted to. Change the scene to the sister isle and one would expect to find the monuments of that country consisting of Latin in Roman letters and Early Irish in Ogam: it turns out to be so, excepting, of course, that the former are very few in number, as knowledge of Latin was probably rare as yet in Ireland—the case must have been somewhat different later when that country no longer received missionaries from other nations, but sent her own sons forth in that capacity to all parts of the west of Europe. The correctness, however, of the view here suggested must, to some extent, depend on the answer which Irish history and archæology can give to the question, whether there are traces of any religious establishments of Kymric origin in the south of Ireland, from which as centres the practice of writing epitaphs in Ogam might have extended itself to those parts of the island where Ogmic monuments have been found.

This leads to a short notice of a somewhat different theory, based on the distribution of Ogam-inscribed stones in Ireland: I allude to the following words in a paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, Nov. 30, 1867, and entitled "An Account of the Ogham Chamber at Drumloghan, County of Waterford, by Richard R. Brash, M.R.I.A." (Dublin, 1868), pp. 14, 15:—"The great majority, then, of our Ogham monuments are found in the province of Munster, and principally in the counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, embracing a large extent of the south and west coast, from Tralee Bay, in Kerry, to Waterford harbour. As near as I can ascertain, the following numbers of monuments have been found:—in Kerry, 75; Cork, 42; Waterford, 26; Limerick, 1; Clare, 1. These are all in the province of Munster. All the rest of Ireland supplies but 10; of these 5 are in the county of Kilkenny, still a southern county; the others are divided as follows:—1 in Wicklow, 1 in Meath, 2 in Roscommon [where the remaining one is we are not told]; so that for the purposes of our argument it may be fairly assumed that the three southern counties named above form the Ogham district. Again, it is worthy of remark that the majority of these monuments are found on the seaboard of the above-named counties—very many of

them on the strands. The Drumloghan find is within three or four miles of the sea, as are many others of the Waterford and Kerry Oghams; those found in the county of Cork are more inland." Though the late Mr. Brash's conclusions were seldom such as I could accept, he seems to have been thoroughly acquainted with the Ogam district, and I have no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of his figures, or to suppose that subsequent finds have materially modified the ratios between them. His inference from them was that the Ogam was not invented in Ireland, but introduced by a maritime people, who landed on the southern or south-western coast of the island: he would identify them with the Milesians of Irish legend, and suppose them, accordingly, to have come from Spain, and originally from Egypt. This last piece of extravagance, which he was willing to accept, needs no discussion, but I would not go so far as to say that Ireland was never invaded from Spain, or that the Milesians went forth from Britain, but I would suggest that the Ogam-writing invaders of Ireland, if such are to be postulated, for which, I must confess, I see no necessity, are far more likely to have set sail from our own shores, say from Pembrokeshire, which is the leading Ogam county this side of St. George's Channel, than from Spain. Supposing such an

emigration to have happened in the 5th or 6th century, one would naturally look for the primary cause of it in the westward pressure exercised by the English.

APPENDIX.

A.—OUR EARLY INSCRIPTIONS.

BEFORE giving a list of our Early Inscriptions, a word is necessary as to the nature of Aryan nomenclature. The subject has been lucidly treated by Dr. Fick in his recent work on Greek personal names (*Die griechischen Personennamen*, Göttingen, 1874). The materials which he has there brought together clearly show that originally every Aryan name of man or woman took the form of a compound of two single words, and that this, more or less modified, has come down to historical times among the various Aryan nations of Asia and Europe, excepting in Italy and Lithuania. As instances may be mentioned such names as the Sanskrit *Candrarāja*, from *candra* 'shining' and *rāja* 'king,' or the Greek *Θεόδωρος*, from *θεός* 'god' and *δῶρον* 'gift.' The number of words used in this way does not appear to have been at any time very great, but in many cases each pair yielded two names, as in the following: Sanskrit *Deva-ṣrūta*, *Ṣrūta-deva*, Greek *Θεόδωρος*, *Δωρο-θεός*, Servian *Milo-drag*, *Drago-mil*, O. German *Hari-berht*, *Berht-hari*, Early Welsh *Barri-vend-i*, *Vendu-bar-i*, Mod. Welsh × *Cyn-fael*, *Mael-gwn*. From the older class of full names most Aryan nations also formed eventually a number of shorter ones by omitting one of the constituent parts, the remaining one being used by itself, either with or

without a special termination, as in the case of Sanskrit *Datta* from *Deva-datta*, *Çiva-datta*, or the like, and Greek *Nixias*, *Nixias*, *Nixar*, together with a good many more, from *Nixó-μαχος*, *Nixó-σπαρος*, or a similar full name.

By way of classifying the contents of the following inscriptions, it may be premised that they contain about 160 different names, several of which occur more than once. About 30 are either incompletely read, or, for other reasons, difficult to classify; the remaining ones are partly Celtic and partly Latin, in the proportion of about three of the former to one of the latter. The Celtic ones are of two kinds, namely, those which belong to the Aryan system of names and those which do not. The latter are comparatively few, and may have originally been epithets or qualifying words appended to the full names: (α) some nine or ten of them seem to be quasi-compounds, such as *Mucoi-breici* and *Maqvi-treni*, while (β) about half a dozen are adjectives formed from common nouns by means of the affix *āc* or *ōc*, Mod. Welsh *awg*, *og*, such as *Bodvoci*, *Dervaci*, *Lovernaci*, *Senacus*, *Tegernacus*, *Tuncetace*. The former may be classified as follows:—1. Considerably more than one half of them are compounds made up of two simple words, and of these last (α) the greater number are of four syllables, such as *Barri-vendi*, *Netta-sagru*; others have been reduced to three syllables by the loss of the connecting vowel, as in the case of *Clotuali* for *Cluto-wali*. (β) A few beginning with prefixes such as *so-* or *do-*, as in *So-lini*, *Do-bunni*, may be regarded as having never been more than three syllables long, while, on the other hand, we have no certain instance of a compound of more than four syllables in length, excepting (γ) those involving *tigirn* or *tegern*, as *Cato-tigirni* and *Tegerno-mali*: it is doubtful whether the *e* in *Camelorigi* be not an irrational vowel, which would reduce the name to four syllables. (δ) To these must be added two derivatives

from full names, namely, *Cunacenniwi* and *Qvenvendani*, which imply *Cunacenni* and *Qvenvendi* respectively. 2. Names of the type of *Gwyn* 'white,' *Arth* 'a bear,' are not unusual in Welsh; but to one looking at the meaning of such words it is seldom apparent why they got to be used as proper names, while the analogy of the nomenclature of other Aryan nations makes it certain that they mostly came to be so used, not so much by virtue of their fitness in point of signification, as by way of abbreviation of full names: thus *Gwyn*, for instance, stood originally for some such a form as *Gwyndaf* or *Penwyn*, and *Arth* for *Arthgen*, *Arthfael*, or the like. Our early inscriptions yield us the following instances in point: *Bandus*, *Bladi*, *Broho*, *Caune*, *Cavo*, *Daari*, *Magli*, *Meli*, *Porius*, *Qvici*, *Tren*, *Valci*, *Vetta*, to which may be added *Rialo-brani* as probably involving the Goidelo-Kymric name *Bran* qualified by an adjective: compare English names like *Littlejohn*. 3. The shorter forms are more usually met with in our Early Inscriptions with special affixes appended to them. The most common of these is *-agn-i*, as in *Broccagni*, *Corbagni*, *Curcagni*, *Curcagnus*, *Ercagni*, *Maglagni*, *Ulcagni*, *Ulcagnus*, to which must be added one in *-egn-i*, namely, *Cunegni*. Besides these we have two in *-on-i*, *Fanoni* and *Vendoni* (twice); two in *-uc-i*, *Fannuci* and *Swaqqvuci*; two in *-ic-i*, *Berici* and *Torrici*; two in *-iv-i* or *-iw-i*, namely, *Ercilivi* and *Nogtivis*, to which it is right to add the name ending in *-urivi* on the stone lost at Llandeilo: this termination may, as was seen in the form *Cunacenniwi*, be used in the case of a full name. The remaining derivatives are few and various.

Besides the foregoing names we have about twenty epithets or qualifying words attached to the former in our inscriptions. Of these about two thirds are of Welsh origin, while the rest is Latin. Altogether they are far

more miscellaneous than the names they accompany : one of them, *Ordous*, seems to refer to the tribe of the person commemorated ; one, *Cocci*, 'red,' is an ordinary adjective, and *Tovisaci*, 'having the lead, a leader or prince,' is a noun of adjectival origin ; next comes *Magvirini*, which may be a quasi-compound. Then we have two adjectives compounded of a noun and an adjective, as in many other instances in Welsh—I allude to *Anate-mori*, 'soul-great,' and *Ei-metiaco*, 'ære-hastatus.' Lastly, passing by *Seni-argi* and *Vedomavi* as obscure, we come to *Burgo-cavi*, *Duno-cati*, *Il-weto*, and *Monedo-rigi*, which may be guessed to mean 'city-guardian,' 'town-warrior,' 'much-speaking' and 'mountain-king' respectively.

It is almost needless to state that Early Welsh names hardly contain anything that does not find its continuation or counterpart in those of later periods in the history of the language ; but to do justice to this would, to judge only from the materials I have already collected, probably require a larger volume than this. It may, however, be here pointed out that the printed books containing the greatest number of Welsh names are the following : *Liber Landavensis*, the *Cambro-British Saints*, the *Myvyrian Archæology of Wales*, *Annales Cambrice*, *Brut y Tywysogion*, the *Iolo Manuscripts*, and the *Mabinogion*. The best collection of Breton names known to me is that in the indexes to De Courson's edition of the *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon* (Paris, 1863) : a number of Cornish names occur in the manumissions in the Bodmin Gospels, published by Mr. Stokes in the *Revue Celtique*, i. pp. 332-345. For Irish names I have used the indexes to the *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters* (Dublin, 1856), the *Martyrology of Donegal* (Dublin, 1864), Reeves' *Adamnan's Life of St. Columba* (Dublin, 1857), and other books. Lastly, my references to Teu-

tonic names are based on the first volume of Dr. Ernst Förstemann's *Alteutsches Namenbuch* (Nordhausen, 1856).

A word now as to the formulæ of the inscriptions. As a rule they are of the simplest kind—occasionally, for instance, the whole inscription consists of only one proper name, but more frequently it is followed by that of the father of the person commemorated, making *A. filius B.*, or in the genitive *A. fili B.* with *corpus* or *sepulcrum* to be supplied by the reader, to which one may add that any personal name used may have an epithet or defining word attached to it. In other instances we have *hic jacit*, but the adverb, written also *ic*, may be omitted, while, on the other hand, we once meet with *jam ic jacit* and with *hic in tumulo jacit* or *in hoc tumulo iacit*. And as to *IACIT* for *jacet*, it is to be noticed that it is the form regularly used, there being only one certain instance in which *IACET* is known. The substitution of *-it* for *-et* in this word may possibly be altogether due to Welsh influence, as *-it* seems to have been formerly the prevalent Welsh ending of the third person singular of the present indicative of the active voice, while *-et* was probably more usually associated with the imperative or potential mood. However, it is right to add that Fröhner, in his preface to his very handy little book entitled *Inscriptiones Terræ Coctæ Vasorum Intra Alpes, Tisam, Tamesin Repertæ* (Göttingen, 1858), cites, p. xxvi., the forms *habit*, *valiat*, *habiant*, *porregerit* (= *porrigeret*), *cessissit*, and *potuissit*.

Lastly a † is prefixed to every epitaph which happens to be accompanied by a cross of any kind on any part of the stone inscribed, as well as when the stone itself has been fashioned into the form of a cross, which is seldom the case. In a few instances the monogram of Christ forms the heading, which is here indicated by prefixing the Greek letters, *XPI*, which it implies.

ANGLESEY.

1. *Hic Jacit Maccudecceti* (Penrhos Lligwy). This name may be treated as *Maccu Decceti* or *Maccu-Decceti*: as to *maccu* see Appendix B., and as to *Decceti* and *Decheti* see pages 174, 175, 176 180, 181, 203, 274, 277.

2. *origi Hic Jacit* (Llanbabo). I have not seen the stone, and this is all I can guess with any approach to certainty from the fac-similes of the inscription in Hübner's collection. The name intended is evidently of the same formation as *Camelorigi* and the like.

3. *Culidori Jacit Et Orvvite Mulier Secundi* (Llangefni). Here *mulier* would seem to mean *uxor*. *Culidori* is a name I cannot trace later, but *Orvvite*, on which see pages 210, 211, may be the early form of *Erwyd* in *Ponterwyd* in Cardiganshire, which druid-mad charlatans are sometimes pleased to transform into *Pont-derwydd*. The formula of this epitaph stands alone.

4. *Hic Beatu[s] Saturninus Se[pultus] [J]acit. Et Sua Sa[ncta] Conjux. Pa[x]* (Llansadwrn). The stone has been damaged so that the inscription is incomplete: Hübner makes SVASA into *Suasa*, but such a name is quite unknown to me, and as the line is incomplete I have ventured to suggest *sua sancta* as the full reading, but this is only to await a better guess.

5. *Catamanus Rex Sapientissimus Opinatisimus Omnium Regum* (Llangadwaladr). *Catamanus* occurs later as *Catman*, *Cadfan*, and as to King Cadfan and his name see pages 168, 169, 212, 323.

CARNARVONSHIRE.

6. *Meli Medici Fili Martini Jacit* (Llangŷan). This would seem to mean *Corpus Meli Medici Hic Jacit*: *Mel* occurs as the name of a disciple of St. Patrick, and first bishop of Ardagh (*Four Masters*, under the year 487); it

also enters into the composition of several proper names of men, such as *Melldeyrn*. With *medici* here compare *fabri* on one of the stones at Tavistock.

7. *Veracius Pbr Hic Jacit* (Cefn Amwlch). There is nothing to prevent our regarding *Veracius* as the same name as *Guroc* in the *Liber Landav.*, p. 170, if it be not of Latin origin.

8. *Senacus Prsb Hic Jacit Cum Multitudnem Fratrum Prespiter . . .* (Cefn Amwlch). *Multitudine* is shortened one syllable, and ended in a silent *m* (see p. 208). *Senacus* would seem to consist of *sen-*, whence our *hen* 'old,' Ir. *sean*, with the affix *ac* attached to it, and to be exactly equivalent to the Irish name *Seanach*; however, it is unusual to attach the affix *ac* to an adjective, and but for the Irish name one might explain *Senacus* as meaning *Sēnācus* from the *sēn-* possibly implied by our Mod. Welsh *hoen* 'vigour, liveliness.'

X 9. *Jovenali Fili Eterni Hic Jacit* (on the farm of Ty Corniog in the parish of Llannor). The first name is better known as *Juvenal*, and appears in the *Liber Landavensis* (pp. 166, 259) as *Jouanaul*, a form which it assumed, instead of the *Jouenaul* to be expected, probably under the influence of the O. Welsh *Jouan* 'John,' with which it may have been popularly associated. The other has survived in the name of *Llanedern* or *Edern*, still borne by a neighbouring village.

10. *Vendeselli* (buried in the same place with the last mentioned). The name survives as *Gwennoedyl* (*Cambro-Brit. SS.*, pp. 267, 268), *Gwynhoedl* (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 141), *Gwynoedl*, *Gwynodl* (*Myv. Arch.* pp. 741, 426): the last of these is borne by the neighbouring church of *Llangwynodl*, now commonly curtailed into *Llangynodl* or *Llangynadl*, the founder of which is supposed to have lived in the 6th century: see the passages alluded to in

the *Cambro-Brit. SS.* There can, I think, be little doubt that the stone bearing the foregoing inscription was meant for him.

11. *Alhortus Eimetiaco Hic Jacet* (Llanaelhaiarn). This is the only instance perhaps we have of *jacet* in its correct Latin form. *Alhortus* is read also *Ahortus*; see pages 205, 279. If the correct reading is *Alhortus*, it is probably to be analysed into *Alh-ort-*, of which the syllable *alh* has been mentioned page 279; the other, *ort*, may be the same which occurs in the form *Orth* as a man's name in Lewis Morris's *Celtic Remains*, p. 176: it may be of the same origin as the Latin *portare*. As to *Eimetiaco*, see pages 179, 207, 215, 225, 279, and Appendix C.

12. *Fili Lovernii Anatemori* (Llanfaglan). Here *corpus* or *sepulcrum* is to be supplied, but even then it is not easy to say how it is to be construed: it can hardly mean *Anatemori Fili Lovernii*, for the arrangement of the words is against that view, and *Anatemori* looks more like an epithet than a leading name; nor can I accept Hübner's reading it upwards—it stands thus:

FILI LOVERNII ANATEMORI

So I am inclined to regard it as being *Fili-Lovernii Anatemori*, which, but for the inscriber's wish to show off his Latin, would most likely have been left *Maqvi-Lovernii Anatemori*: compare *Maqvitre* in Ogam, and *Maqveragi* in Ogam and in capitals. As to other points connected with this epitaph, see pages 209, 212, 216.

13. XPI. *Carausius Hic Jacit In Hoc Congeries Lapidum* (Penmachno). I cannot explain the bad Latin of this inscription as far as concerns gender, but with the

s of *congeries* compare the case of *Nogtivis*, p. 208 ; nor can I find any trace of the name *Carausius* in later Welsh.

14. *Cantiori Hic Jacit Venedotis Cive Fuit [C]onsobrinio Ma[g]li Magistrati* (Penmachno). Such genitives as *magistrati* were usual as early as the time of the Gracchi, nor does the inscription contain a single fault which is not justifiable on Latin ground : see pages 168, 179, 213, 215. The *c* of *consobrinio* is tolerably certain, and so is the *g* of *Magli*, which appears later as *Mael*, and enters into the composition of other names : the Irish form is *mál*, said to mean 'a noble, a prince, a king,' and not the *maol* or *mael* of such Irish names as *Maolpadraig* or *Maelpadraig*, 'the tonsured servant of P.,' which is more likely to be the formal equivalent of our *moel* 'bald, without hair, without horns.' As to *Cantiori*, I would regard it as a nominative standing for an earlier *Cantiorix*, and would treat the whole as meaning—*Cantiorix Hic Jacet : Venedotius Civis Fuit, Consobrinus Magli Magistratus*, which is tolerably simple Latin, whatever may be said of its elegance. But I should add that Professor Hübner construes it thus : *Cantiori. Hic iacit, Venedotis cive(s) fuit, [c]onsobrinio(s) Ma[g]li magistrati*.

15. . . . *oria Ic Jacit* (Penmachno). This is a part of an inscription probably commemorating a woman.

16. *Sanct. . . . Filius Sacer[dotis]* (Tyddyn Holland, near Llandudno). The stone is described in a book entitled "The History and Antiquities of the Town of Aberconwy and its Neighbourhood, with Notices of the Natural History of the District, by the Rev. Robert Williams, B.A., Christ Church, Oxford, Curate of Llangernyw" (Denbigh, 1835). At page 137 it is said that the following inscription was copied from the stone in question in the year 1731 :

SANCT

ANVS

SACRI

ISIS

This convinces me that the epitaph was then as incomplete as it is now, for I feel confident that what was then read ANVS is the FILIVS of the above reading, which is, it is true, far from certain. But since then the difficulties of the inscription have been greatly increased by the fact that the late occupant of the cottage close by undertook to deepen some of the letters for the benefit of English tourists. As it now stands, the CR of the old copy is a big D reversed. I have failed to read ISIS, or to satisfy myself that the line of which it formed a part was IC IACIT. If it formed an epithet to the father's name it would be useless to attempt to guess the original. The reading of the rest of the inscription was probably either *Sanctus Filius Sacerdotis* or *Sancti Filius Sacerdotis* with *Sancti* for *Sanctis* = *Sanctius*: one of these perhaps is implied in the O. Welsh name *Saith* (*Liber Landav.*, p. 200), and probably also in *Sant*, the legendary name of St. David's father. Or else it may have been *Sanctanus* or *Sanctagnus Filius Sacerdotis*; for, that *Sanctagnus* or *Sanctagni* occurred as a name used at one time by Kymric Christians is rendered probable by the Welsh derived form *Seithen-in*, and by a passage in the preface to *Sanctán's* Irish hymn in the *Liber Hymnorum* which is thus rendered by Mr. Stokes: "Bishop Sanctán made this hymn, and when he was going from Clonard westward to Matóc's Island he made it. And he was a brother of Matóc's, and both of them were of Britain, and Matóc came into Ireland before Bishop Sanctán." According to another account they were grandsons of Muireadhach Muindearg, king of Ulidia, who is

stated to have died in the year 479 (*Four Masters*, ii. p. 1190): *Matbc* is most decidedly an early form of our Welsh *Madog*. With *Sanctanus* compare *Iustanus*, the name of a bishop of St. Patrick's creation in Ireland.

DENBIGHSHIRE.

17. *Brohomagli Jam Ic Jacit Et Uzor Ejus Caune* (Voelas Hall, near Bettws y Coed). *Brohomagli* and *Caune* are nominatives: see pages 177, 179, 181, 203, 204, 223, 276.

18. *Vinnemagli Fili Senemagli* (Gwytherin). The second name occurs also as *Senomagli*: it should in later Welsh be *Henfael*, but it does not seem to occur, while *Vinnemagli* duly appears as *Gwenfael*, in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 144, for an intermediate *Vennemagli*.

19. *Saumilini Tavisaci (in capitals)* } (Pool Park, near
S—belino [To]wisaci (in Ogam) } Ruthin).

The difficulties of this inscription have been noticed on p. 290: *Tavisaci* is undoubtedly the early form of our *tywysog* 'a prince, a leader,' but as it is left untranslated, it is likely to have been here regarded more as an epithet than an indication of the man's rank.

FLINTSHIRE.

20. *Hic Jacit Mulier Bona Nobili* (Downing, brought from Caerwys). Here *mulier bona* may possibly have been meant as an equivalent for the Welsh *gwreigdda* 'good wife,' and *Nobili*, for *Nobilis*, was, I am inclined to think, her husband's name: if it is to be treated merely as the ordinary adjective *nobilis*, the epitaph has no parallel on Kymric ground.

MONTGOMERYSHIRE.

21. *Hic [In] Tumulo Jacit R[e]stece Filia Paternini Ani XIII In Pa* (Llanerfyl). The inscription is not alto-

gether legible, and it is impossible to guess with certainty the second letter of the first name; but it was probably *E* or *O*. *Ani* stands probably for *Annis*, but the age looks rather like AN IXIII.

MERIONETHSHIRE.

22. *Cavo Seniargii* (Llanfor). Others may prefer dividing it into *Cavoseni Argii*: it is written like one word, though it can hardly be one. As to *Cavo*, see pages 215, 223: *Seniargii* is difficult to explain beyond the fact that it probably stands for *Senja-argii* and not *Sena-argii*, as the latter would have yielded not *Seniargii*, but *Senargii*; it is further possible that *-ii* is the antecedent of our modern termination *ydd* in personal nouns such as *cynydd* 'a huntsman,' from *cwn* 'dogs,' *dilledydd* 'a tailor,' from *dillad* 'clothes:' the same perhaps applies in the case of *Lovernii*: see pages 209, 215, 216, 223. Lastly, it should be mentioned that what I have here supposed to be *II* should possibly be read *E*, which sometimes in Roman inscriptions resembled ||; but it is hardly probable.

23. *Porius Hic In Tumulo Jacit Homo Christianus Fuit* (Llech Idris, near Trawsfynydd). The first two syllables of the adjective are represented by the Greek abbreviation $\chi\rho\iota$: it is to be noticed that *Porius* stands over *jacit* at the end of the second line, so that it is not improbable that it is to be read after *tumulo* or *jacit*—in the former case we should have a sort of a rude couplet running thus:—

Hic In Tumulo Porius Jacit ;
Homo Christianus Fuit.

The name *Porius* survives as *Pir* in *Mainaur Pir* (*Liber Landav.*, p. 117), now *Manorbeer*, in Pembrokeshire, *Pir-o* (pp. 14, 17), later *Pyr*.

24. *Cælesti Monedorigi* (Llanaber, brought from a farm in the neighbourhood). On *Cælesti* for *Cælestis*, see pages 207, 208. *Monedorigi* seems to be an epithet composed of *monedo-*, now *mynydd* 'mountain' (compare the Sc. Gaelic *monadh* 'moor, heath'), and *rīgi*, for *rīgis*, the genitive of what would have been in the nominative *rī*, for an earlier *rīx*, now *rhi* 'king, lord;' so *Monedorigi* probably meant 'mountain-king.'

25. *Pascent*. This is said to have been on a stone which once existed at Towyn: the inscription is probably incomplete, and the name meant was most likely written *Pascenti* with a horizontal *I*.

26. *Hec Jacet Salvianus Bursocavi Filius Cupetian*. This is reported to be the reading of a stone which was found at Caer Gai, near Llanuwchllyn: it has long since been lost, but the inscription may be conjectured to have been *Hic Jacit Salvianus Burgocavi Filius Cupetiani*, also with a horizontal *I*, which the antiquaries of former days did not always copy, as they did not know what to make of it. *Salvianus* and *Cupetianus* are Roman names which are otherwise known in Britain: see Hübner's *Inscr. Lat. Brit.*, Nos. 986 and 887. *Burgocavi*, which is here a nominative, evidently involves the name *Cav-o*, which we have on the Llanfor stone in the same neighbourhood: the common element in *Cavo Seniargii* and *Burgocavi* very possibly implies the blood-relationship of the two men meant, and it is natural to conclude that *Caer Gai*, which translated into an older form must have been *Castra Cavi* or *Cavi Castra*, bears the name of some person of the same family, perhaps of this very *Burgocavi* mentioned in the lost inscription. *S* is very frequently misread for *G* in our Early Inscriptions, and the name here in question was probably *Burgocavi*, in which we should in that case have the Welsh equivalent of *burgh*, *borough*: *borg* was

used by Cormac and others as an Irish word for *town*. So *Burgocav-i* would mean 'he who watches over, provides for, or takes care of the town.' As to the origin of *Cavo* and *Caune*, suggested at page 223, see Curtius' "Outlines of Greek Etymology," No. 64, and compare the names *Δημοκίων*, *Ἰπποκίων*, and the like.

CARDIGANSHIRE.

27. † *Bandus Jacit* (Silian). The first letters of this inscription are bisected by the shaft of a small cross horizontally placed before the epitaph.

28. *Corbalengi Jacit Ordous* (Cae'r Felin Wynt, near Penbryn). As to *Ordous* and the case of *Corbalengi*, see pages 177, 207, 212. *Corbalengi* appears to be composed of *corba*, of the same origin as the Irish *corb*, which Cormac mentions as meaning 'a chariot:' the Welsh words related are *corf*, *corof*, *corfan*, *carfan*, whence *corba* in *Corbalengi* may have meant 'a beam,' 'a frame-work,' or 'a chariot.' The other element in *Corbalengi* may be of the same origin as the Irish *lingim* "salio;" but I am rather inclined to regard it as the Celtic equivalent of Latin *longus*, English *long*, and this would harmonise with *Evolengi* should that turn out to mean 'long-lived.'

29. *Velvor Filia Broho* (Llandyssul). It is not evident whether the inscription is complete or not, but I am now inclined to think it is. *Broho* we have already met with in *Brohomagli*: see pages 177, 181, 203, 204, 276. As to *Velvor*, it is to be divided into *Vel-vor*, of which *vel-* stands for *val-*, as in *Clotuali* and *Cunovali*, and represents a præ-Celtic *valpa*, Gothic *vulfs*, English *wolf*, but why it has *e* is not clear. Nay, in Förstemann's *Altddeutsches Namenbuch* we have the exact Teutonic equivalent of our *Velvor* in the feminine *Wolfwar* from Salzburg. Formally the *vor* of *Velvor* is best explained by supposing it to be

the antecedent of our *gwr* 'man,' plural *gwyr*; but *gwr* is now only masculine, but that it was once feminine or common as to gender is possible—compare *dyn* 'a man,' which was habitually used in the feminine by the Welsh poets of the Middle Ages.

30. *Trenacatus Ic Jacit Filius Maglagni*, and in Ogam *Trenacatlo* (Llanfechan or Llanvaughan, near Llanybyther). The syllable *tren* is represented in later Welsh by *tren* 'impetuous, strenuous, furious:' the other element is now *cad* 'battle, war,' and *Trenacatus* means 'impetuous in battle.' Of *Trenacatlo* I can only make *Tren ac Catlo*, 'Tren and Catlo,' which would now be *Tren a Chadlo*. *Catlo* stands for *Catu-lo* with the same *catu* as in *Trenacatus* and *Catotigfarni*; the meaning of *lo* is not so easy to guess, but it may possibly be the Early Welsh equivalent of Latin *lupus*, 'a wolf,' though the derived forms show not *o* but *ov*, *ou* in *Loverni*, *Lovernaci*, and the Breton *louarn* 'a fox.' Accordingly *Catlo* would mean 'the wolf of battle:' other names to be compared are *Cynllo* and *Trillo*. *Maglagni* survives as *Maelan* in *Garthmaelan*, the name of a place in Merioneth. For some account of related forms see the remarks on the Llanfaglan stone, Carnarvonshire, and the Merthyr stone, Carmarthenshire; see also pages 212, 290.

31. *Potenina Mulier* (Goodrich Court, near Ross, whither the stone was taken from Tregaron). The rest of the inscription is gone, the above being on a fragment of the original stone. Above the first *n* there is a small hollow, which if not a mere fray in the stone may mean that one is to read *nt*, and to regard the name intended as *Potentina* and not *Potenina*. The name *Potentinus* occurs in a Roman inscription at Caerleon, and *Potentina* is mentioned in Becker's collection, *Die römischen Inschriften und Steinsculpturen des Museums der Stadt Mainz* (Mentz, 1875). See pages 209, 210.

BRECKNOCKSHIRE.

32. *Rugnia*—o [*Fr*]i *Vendoni* (Devynock). The first name has been read *Pugniacio*, but I read it RVGNIAVTO, RVGNIAVIO or RVGNIAVO, making into *V*, in the last-mentioned guess, what others have read as a sort of open *C* followed by *I*. The first part of the name is no doubt represented by the later *Run*, *Rhun*, and *Rugniavio* or *Rugniavo* might be explained as belonging to that class of names which end in *jaw* or *jo*, such as *Ceidjo*, *Peibjo*, and also *Teilo*, which is the regular Southwalian continuator of the O. Welsh *Teljau*, *Teiljau*. In the *Liber Landavensis* (pp. 31, 86, 96) it occurs also written *Teliau-us* and *Teliau-i*, which come pretty near our *Rugniavo*; but as this is a genitive, the nominative must have been either *Rugnus* or *Rugnjaus*, and so in the case of *Teilo* probably, and all names of the kind. The two first letters of *Fili* were on a part of the stone which has been cut off, but I do not think that there is a letter wanting at the beginning of the first name, which, as it now stands, begins with a good *R*, and there is no excuse for reading it *P*. The name *Vendoni* occurs also on one of the Clydai stones, and seems to be continued in the Welsh feminine *Gwenonwy*.

33. *Filius Victorini* (Scethrog, near Brecon). The first name is hopelessly gone, owing to the stone having been used as a roller: I have guessed it to be *Nemni*, whence *Nemnivus*.

34. *Dervaci Filius Justi Ic Jacit* (on an old Roman road in the neighbourhood of Ystradfellte). If *Dervaci* be a Latinised form for *Dervacis*, *Dervacius*, then the name may be analysed into an adjective formed by means of the affix *-āc*, from *derv*, now *derw*, 'oak.' A *Justus*, traced by some to Wales, assisted St. Patrick in Ireland.

35. *Turpilli Ic Jacit Puveri Triluni Dunocati*, and in Ogam *Turpill*[ti *Tri*]luni (Glan Usk Park,

near Crickhowel). The Ogam notches for the first *i* are gone, and the first *l* in *Trilluni* is somewhat doubtful. Some think there are Ogams on the top of the stone after *Trilluni*, but I can make nothing of them. On most of the peculiarities of this inscription see pages 21, 167, 175, 176, 177, 178, 182, 210, 211, 220, 300. *Triluni* no doubt stands for *Trilluni*, the first element in it being the Welsh numeral for 'three,' which must have the *l* doubled after it, as *Trilluni* would be the representative of an earlier *Tris-luni*. The name may, therefore, be explained as *Triformis* by identifying *lun* with our modern word *llun*, 'shape, form ;' but this can hardly be said to be confirmed by *Lunar[c]hi* on another stone.

36. † *Cunocenni Filius Cunoceni Hic Jacit*, and in Ogam *Cunacennuwi Iluweto* (Trallong, near Brecon). On this epitaph see pages 30, 162, 172, 173, 177, 178, 211, 212, 296, 300, 301 ; and as to *Iluweto*, see pages 210, 300. It may be added that the word is probably to be analysed into *Il-uweto*, whereof *il* is identical with *ill* in *Illtud*, *Ilteyrn*, and, probably, with *el* in the O. Welsh names *Eljud*, *Elhearn*, and the like—*Illtud* also occurs as *Eltutus* : in Irish it is always *il*, which is an *U*-stem, meaning 'much,' and of the same origin as Greek πολύς, Ger. viel. The *o* of *uweto* would seem to be the ending of the genitive, for an earlier *-os*, and the whole appears to be identical with *Fétho*, the genitive of the O. Ir. name *Féth* (Stokes's *Goidelica*,² pp. 84, 85). *Féth* and *uweto* come perhaps from the same source as *gwed* in the Welsh verb *dy-wed-yd*, 'to say, to speak :' if so, *Iluweto* might be explained as meaning 'much-speaking,' or possibly 'much-spoken-of :' compare Πολυφώνης, Πολύφημος, and the like.

37. *Adiune* (Ystradgynlais). This is probably a fragment, but *Adiune* seems to be a nominative feminine : see page 217.



38. *Hic Jacit* (Ystradgynlais). This is also a fragment, but it is distinct from the preceding one.

39. *s curi In Hoc Tumulo [Jacit]* (Abercar, on the way from Merthyr Tydfil to Brecon). There is no reason to think that this inscription is incomplete, but the stone has been built into the wall of an outhouse at Abercar.

40. *Tir . . . Fili]us Catiri*. This belonged to the same neighbourhood but has been destroyed or lost; the first name is said to have been read *Tiberius*; and *Catiri*, also given as *Catai*, is otherwise unknown to me.

GLAMORGANSHIRE.

41. *Vendumagli Hic Jacit* (Llanillteyrn, near Llandaff). This inscription is in early Kymric letters. *Vendu* in *Vendumagli* is identical with the first part of *Vendoni*, of *Vendubari*, of *Vendesetli* (otherwise *Vennisetli*), and of *Vinnemagli*, which is, in fact, the same name as *Vendumagli* in spite of the difference of spelling.

42. *Tegernacus Filius Marti Hic Jacit* (in a field near Capel Brithdir). The letters are very rudely cut, and the *G* marks the transition from *G* to *ȝ*, being of the same form almost as an inverted *Z* or an angulated *S*, and identical with the *g* on the Inchaguile stone in the county of Galway: some of the other letters are Roman capitals, but the early Kymric character prevails on both stones. *Tegernacus* is now *Teyrnog*, Irish *Tighearnach*, Anglicised *Tierney*; *Marti* is probably the genitive of *Martius*. I have found no other trace of it in Welsh nomenclature.

43. + *Bodvoci Hic Jacit Filius Catotigirni Pronepus Eternali Vedomavi* (on a mountain near Margam). Some of these forms have been discussed pages 31, 92, 207, 212, 213, 223, 224.

The name *Bodvoci* is said to occur as *Boduacus* on a

stone dug up at Nismes in France (see the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1859, p. 289). In that case I should treat *Bodvoci* as a modification of *Bodvaci*, and analyse it, like *Dervaci*, into *Bodv-āc-* or *Bodv-ōc-*, with *bodv-* of the same origin as in the Gaulish *Boduo-gnatus* and the [C]athubodvæ of a Gaulish inscription, in which Mr. Hennessy recognises the *Badb-catha* or war goddess of Irish mythology (see his interesting paper in the *Rev. Celtique*, i. 32–55), which we meet with as a man's name, *Boducat*, in the *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, pp. 105, 123 ; we trace *bodv-* also in the name which is variously written *Elbodugo*, *Elbodg*, and *Elbodu* in the *Annales Cambriæ*, pp. 10, 11.

44. *Punpeius Carantorius*, and in Ogam *Pope* (Cynffig, near Margam). The first name does not seem to appear elsewhere on Welsh ground, but *Carantorius* may possibly be identical with the *Cerentir-i*, *Cerennhir*, *Cerenhir*, *Cherenhir* of the *Liber Landav.*, pp. 175, 191, 202, 203, 228, 230. As to other points connected with this inscription, see pages 21, 206, 207, 215, 301 of this volume.

45. *Macaritini Fili Ber[ci]* (The Gnoll, near Neath, whither it was brought from the parish of Llangadog). There is some doubt as to the last letters of the father's name: both that and the son's are otherwise unknown to me. *Macaritini* stands probably for *Maceratini*, and is a derivative from the name given as *Macerati* by Desjardins in his *Notice sur les Monuments Épigraphique de Bavai et du Musée de Douai* (Paris, 1873), p. 136.

46. *Pauli . . . Fili Ma . . .* (a fragment at Merthyr Mawr, near Bridgend). These names may have been in full *Paulini* and *Maqveragi* or the like.

47. . . . *ic*, in Ogam on the Loughor altar: the rest is not to be made out with any certainty: see page 302.

CARMARTHENSHIRE.

48. *Hic Jacit Ulcagnus Fius Senomagli* (Llanfihangel ar Arth). The first name occurs also in Cornwall, and in an Irish inscription as *Ulcagni*: the nearest form which survives in Wales is perhaps *Ylched* in *Llechyched*, in Anglesey, and *-wlch* in the name *Ammwlch*, for Amb-ulc-, in Cefn *Ammwlch*, in Carnarvonshire, and possibly in *Llanamwlch*, near Brecon: see pages 205, 206.

49. *Qvenvendani Fili Barcuni* (Parcau, near Whitland): see pages 22, 23, 170, 254, 281.

50. *Curcagni Fili Andagelli* (Gelli Dywyll, near Newcastle Emlyn). *Curcagni* survives in the form *Circan* in the *Liber Landav.*, p. 153, and on Irish ground both *Corcan*, probably for *Corcán*, and the shorter *Corc* are to be met with as personal names: they may possibly, if standing for *score*, be of the same origin as *scalc*, "servus," in Teutonic names. *Andagelli* in its first element reminds one of the Gaulish forms *Andecumborius*, *Anderoudus*, *Andecamulum*, &c. The other element *gell-* seems to meet us in *Gellan* (*Liber Landav.*, pp. 138, 146, 193, 195), and it may perhaps be of the same origin as the verb *gallu*, 'to be able;' but nothing certain could be said of the composition of the word as long as no modern form of it is known. ✱

51. *Barrivendi Filius Vendubari Hic Jacit*, and in Ogam . . . *Maqui M* . . . (Llandawke, near Laugharne): see pages 171, 212, 298. These names are in Irish *Bairrfhinn* and *Finnbharr*, of which the former is in Welsh *Berwyn*, and the latter would be *Gwynfar*, but I am not aware that it occurs: the meaning of the former is 'white-topped or white-headed.'

52. *Mavoh* . . . *Fili Lunar[c]hi Cocci* (Llanboidy). The first name is incomplete, owing to the end of the stone having been broken off, and it is possible that

Lunarchi had no *c*. As to the former, it may have been in full *Mavo-heni*, for an earlier *Mavo-seni* dating before Welsh *s* began to be changed into *h*: see pages 223, 224, 278.

53. . . . *tum* . . . This is all that is legible of another inscription at Llanboidy: the stone now stands erect in the churchyard, but it must have long lain in a very different position, as it is worn smooth, the foregoing being the only legible portion of an epitaph which probably contained the formula *Hic In Tumulo Jacit*.

54. † *Bladi Fili Bodibeve*, and in Ogam *Awvi Boddib* and *Bewo* . . . (stone found at Llanwinio, taken to Middleton Hall, near Llanarthney): see pages 217, 218, 299. The reading of *Bladi* is doubtful, but if it should turn out to be *Bladi*, this would probably be found to be of the same origin as *blaud* in *Anblaud* in the *Cambro-Brit. SS.*, p. 158. In Davies' dictionary *blawdd* is quoted as meaning "agilis, celer, gnavus, expeditus, impiger, properus," and the compounds *aerflawdd*, *cadflawdd*, *cynflawdd*, *gorflawdd*, *trawflawdd* are mentioned. *Bladi* cannot, I think, be identified with *blaid* 'a wolf.'

55. *Caturugi Fili Lovernaci* (Merthyr, near Carmarthen). The *i* of *Caturugi* is horizontally placed, and rather faint, but I think it is there. The name analyses itself into *catu-*, identical with the *cato-* of *Catotigerni*, Mod. Welsh *cad* 'battle, war,' Irish *cath*, the other element, *rug-i*, is not easy to identify, but it may be presumed to be the same which we find in a longer form in *Rugniavo*, and if it be of the same origin as our modern *rhu-o* 'to roar,' Latin *rugire*, *Caturugi* would mean *he who roars in battle*; but the older meaning of the root *rug* seems to be *to break*, in that case the name would mean *he who breaks the battle*. *Lovernaci* is of course of the same origin as *Lovernii*, and both come from a shorter *lovern-*, which, though lost in Mod. Welsh, occurs in Cornish as

lowern 'a fox,' Breton *louarn*, the same, Irish *Loarn*, Anglicised in Scotland into *Lorne*. Traces of it occur in the *Liber Landav.*, pp. 135, 166, 251, in *Cruc Leuyrn*, *Louern*, and *Crucou Leurn*, and several localities in Wales are still known by the name of *Llywernog*, which would be formally identical with *Lovernac-i*, but meaning probably 'abounding in foxes,' whereas as a man's name it is more likely to have meant 'foxy, or like a fox.'

Lovern- possibly stands for *lu[p]-arn*-, from the same origin as Latin *lupus* 'a wolf;' the simple form perhaps occurs as *lo* in *Catlo* and *Cynllo*, which last can be matched by a *Conlouern* from the *Liber Landav.*, p. 146: see also the remarks on *Lovernii* in No. 12. Others connect *lovern*- with *Laverna*.

56. *Corbagni Filius Al* . . . (Pantdeuddwr, near Abergwili). The second name begins with *A*, followed, I think, by an *L*, which suggested to me the name *Alhorti*. *Corbagni* is a name which also occurs in an Irish inscription, and I would identify it with *Carfan* in *Llancarfan* and *Nantcarfan*, in the *Liber Landavensis Nant Carban* and *Vallis Carbani*. As to the change of vowel, compare *corfan*, 'a metrical foot,' with *carfan* as in *carfan gwehydd*, 'a weaver's beam,' *carfan gwely*, 'a bedstead,' *carfan o wair*, "hay laid in rows," which I copy from Pughe's dictionary, where one meets with the following quotation from Salesbury: "*Eisteynt yn garfanau o fesur cantoedd, a deg a deugeiniau*;" "they sat down in rows of the number of hundreds and of fifties." Hence it would seem that *corfan* and *carfan* are desynonymised forms of the same word. See also the remarks on *Corbalengi* in No. 28.

57. + *Cunegni* (Traws Mawr, near Carmarthen). This name is singular in its being *Cunegni* and not *Cunagni*, which is the form analogy suggests; but it should perhaps be regarded as offering us an early instance of a modulated

into *e* by the influence of *i* in the following syllable, a change well-known later in Welsh. In that case *Cunegni* would be a variant of *Cunagni*, which is to be regarded as the early form of the name which appears subsequently as *Conan*, *Cinan* and *Cynan*.

58. *Severini Fili Severi* (Traws Mawr). *Severi* occurs in Cornwall also.

59. *Regin . . . Filius Nu[v]inti* (Cynwyl Caio). The first name is now incomplete, but so much of it as can be read corresponds to the later name *Regin*, *Rein*; the *v* in *Nuvinti* is also a matter of guessing, as it has disappeared from the stone, and the name is otherwise unknown to me, unless we have it in *Ednywain*.

60. *Talo[r]i Adven[ti] Maqv[eragi] Filiu[s]* (Dolau Cothy). The parentheses enclose letters which are no longer on the stone, but were formerly read on it. Whether *Adventi* should not have been read *Adventici* = *Adventicis* = *Adventicius*, which in late Latin meant *advena*, it is now impossible to tell, nor can one say that *Adventi* = *Adventis* = *Adventius* is out of the question: further, it is difficult to decide whether it is nominative or genitive, and, consequently, whether it or *Maqveragi* is to be regarded as the epithet or surname. So, though I should treat *Talori* as a nominative standing for an earlier *Talorix*, I have to leave it an open question whether the epitaph means *Talorix Filius Adventi Maqveragi* or *Talorix Adventis Filius Maqveragi*. As to *Maqveragi*, Dr. Haigh thinks that he has found it also in Ogam on a stone at St. Florence in Pembrokeshire.

61. *Servatur Fidæi Patriæque Semper Amator Hic Paulinus Jacit Cu[lt]or Pie[nti]sim[us] Æqu[us]* (Dolau Cothy). This Paulinus is supposed to have attended the synod of Llanddewi Brefi some time before the year 569: see Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils and Ecclesiastical*

Documents, i. p. 164. As to the peculiarities of the spelling, see pages 215, 216. This epitaph forms a kind of a distich :—

*Servatur Fidæi Patrieque Semper Amator,
Hic Paulinus Jacit Cultor Pientissimus Æqui.*

62. *Vennisetli Fili Ercagni* (Llansaint, near Kidwelly). As to *Vennisetli*, which is the same name as *Vendesetli*, see No. 10. *Ercagni* occurs as *Erchan* in the *Liber Landav.*, pp. 146, 191, and a farm in the neighbourhood of Aberystwyth is still called *Rhoserchan*; we have also early forms nearly related to *Ercagni* in *Ercilivi* and *Ercilinci* on the Tregoney stone in Cornwall. Irish has the still simpler form *Erc*, and in Welsh *erch*, *erchyll*, means 'terrible, formidable, dismal.'

63. *Jacet Curcagnus urivi Filius*. This is an inscription which Edward Llwyd, in a letter published in the *Ar. Cam.*, for 1858, p. 345, gives as being at Llandilo, but nothing is known of it now—his *jacet* is not likely to have been so written on the stone.

64. *Decabarbalom Filius Brocagni*, and in Ogam *Deccaibānwālbdis*: the stone is said to have been at Capel Mair, near Llandyssul, but it appears to be destroyed, and the foregoing cannot be an accurate copy of it. *Brocagni*, more correctly written, would have been *Broccagni*: it is the early form of the well-known name *Brychan*, and is in Irish *Broccán*. See pages 181, 291.

PEMBROKESHIRE.

65. *Solini Filius Vendoni* (Clydai). The first name is to be detected possibly in the *Liber Landav.* pp. 190, 193, in the form *Hilin*, which would in that case be *Hylin* or *Hylyn* if it occurred: this would exclude the possibility of the name being the Roman *Sollinus*. It would be

interesting as giving us the early form *so-* of our prefix *hy-*. See also page 171 and No. 32 in this list.

66. *Etterni Fili Victor*, and in Ogam *Ettern[í]* *V[ic]tor* (Clydai). See pages 182, 293.

67. † *Dob* *i* [*F*]ilius *Evolengi*, and in Ogam *Dobl* . . . *t* . . . *c* . . . *s* . . . (Dugood, near Clydai). The final *i* of *Evolengi* is horizontally placed in the bosom of the *G*, and is so faint that some maintain that there is no such a letter on the stone. If *leng-* means, as has already been suggested, 'long,' then *Evo-leng-i* may mean 'long-lived or he of the long life,' as there is no obstacle to our supposing *evo-* to stand for *ēvo-* and to be the Early Welsh equivalent for Latin *ævum* and its congeners: the Irish form is *eva* in *Evacattos*, and from the Continent we have *Evothalis* given by Fröhner, p. 42, as found at Reinzabern. See also pages 206, 212, 244, 293, 294.

68. † *Trenegussi Fili Macutreni Hic Jacit*, and in Ogam *Trenagusu Maqvi Maqvireni* (Cilgerran). As to *Trenagusu* or *Trenegussi*, the syllable *tren-* is represented in later Welsh by *tren* 'impetuous, strenuous, furious,' and the other element appears in O. Welsh as *gust* in *Cingust*, Irish *Congus*, *Gurgust*, Ir. *Fergus*, *Ungust*, Ir. *Oingus*, Anglicised *Angus*: in Irish there are a good many more of these compounds, and they all make their genitives in *o(s)*, as in *Fergus*, gen. *Fergusso* or *Fergosso*, and an inscription offers the genitive *Cunagussos*, whence it may be inferred with certainty that the Goidelo-Kymric form implied in these names was *gustus*, genitive *gustos*, formally identical with the Latin *gustus* of the *U*-declension. But as the Welsh retains the *st* without reducing it to *ss* or *s* it is likely that the nominative was shorn of its termination at an early date: thus while a nominative *Trenagustus* became *Trenagust*, the genitive *Trenagustōs*

or *Trenagustuos* became by assimilation *Trenagussos*, *Trenagusso*, *Trenagussu*: the retention of the *t* was favoured also by the accent falling in Welsh on *gust* which we know must have been the case with *Guorgust*, as it has passed through *Gurgwst*, *Gurwst* into *Grwst* as in *Llanrwst*. The use of *macu* and *maqvi* as synonymous in this inscription is to be noticed. See pages 30, 180, 211, 212, 293, and Appendix B.

69. † *Nettasagru Maqvi Mucoibreci* (Bridell). This is in Ogam only, and in *Mucoibreci*, which may be treated as *Mucoi-Breci* or *Mucoi Breci*, *Breci* is very uncertain: see page 292. *Mucoi* is the genitive of the word which in the Cilgerran inscription appears as *macu* and elsewhere as *macco*: as to the variation of the stem vowel see Appendix B.

Nettasagru is to be analysed into *Netta-sagru*, of which *netta* occurs several times in Irish Ogam and is rendered "propugnator" by Mr. Stokes. It probably stands for *nenta* of the same origin as the O. H. Ger. *ginindan* 'to take courage,' Gothic *ana-nanthjan* 'to take courage, to venture,' O. Eng. *néðan*, 'to go on boldly, to venture, to dare.' The other element *sagr-* comes down into later Welsh in the verb *haer-u* 'to affirm,' and *Haer*, a woman's name, in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 21, and Lewis Morris's *Celtic Remains*, p. 237. The Irish form is *sár* 'very' (*sár mhaith* 'exceeding good'), *saraghadh* 'conquest, victory' (*ag saraghadh* 'exceeding')—I quote from Edward Llwyd: to these may be added *Sáraid*, the name of a lady who figures in Irish legend—the genitive of the corresponding masculine may be recognised in the *Sagarettos* of an Irish Ogmic inscription. Among related words in other languages may be instanced Sanskrit *sah* 'to hold, to restrain, to resist, to overpower,' Greek *ἵχω*, *ἵχυνός*, *ἵχυνός*, but the most interesting are the Teutonic forms,

among which may be mentioned Gothic *sigis*, German *sieg* 'victory': our *sagr-* takes the form *sigl-* or *sigil-* in Teutonic names, so our *Haer* is matched by a fem. *Sigila*, and the Irish *Sáraid* letter for letter by the fem. *Stikilinda*, *Sigilind*: see Förstemann's book, columns 1087, 1095. As applied to men *sagr-* and its equivalents probably meant powerful, firm, victorious, but as applied to women they, no doubt, meant firm, resisting, chaste, which affords us an interesting glimpse into early Celto-Teutonic morals. Both *sig-* and *nand-* enter extensively into the composition of Teutonic names, but the nearest instance to our *Nettasagru* which Förstemann gives is *Siginand*.

70. *Sagrani Fili Cunotami*, and in Ogam *Sagramni Maqvi Cunatami* (St. Dogmael's, near Cardigan). As to *Sagramni* it is not easy to say how it should be analysed; at first sight it seems to be a sort of middle participle from the early form of the verb *haer-u*, but analogy is in favour of the view that it is a compound; but of what elements? It may be *Sag-ramn-i* or *Sagr-amn-i*: in the former case we should have *sag-* (whence the *sagr-*, *sager-*, already discussed), and *ramn* which is not very easy to explain. In the other case we should have *sagr-* and *amn-*, which might possibly be a derivative from the root *am* 'to attack, assail, injure' (see Fick's dictionary,³ i. p. 19): the whole might then mean 'a powerful assailant.' Teutonic names show an element resembling the latter part of *Sagramni* in such names as *Imino*, *Emino*, *Emeno*, *Ymnus*, *Ymnedrudis*, *Imnegisil*, *Imnachar*, &c. (Förstemann, 777, 779). *Cunatami* or *Cunotami* is in Mod. Welsh *Cyndaf*, and is composed of *cun-* and *tam-*: the former of these is a common element in proper names, and occurs as *cune* in *Cuneglas-e* and is explained by Gildas as meaning "lanio." The other syllable *tam-* is not of such

extensive use, but it occurs besides in *Eudaf*, *Cawrdaf*, *Gwynndaf*, *Maeldaf*, and more than one river in Wales is called *Taf*—whether it is to be referred to the root *tam* or *stabh* is not clear (Fick's dictionary, i. 593, 821). As to other points connected with this inscription, see pages 29, 182, 183, 184, 212, 292.

71. *Vitaliani Emereto*, and in Ogam *Witaliani* (Cwm Gloyn, near Nevern). See pages 167, 176, 179, 215, 288, 294.

72. † *Tuncetace Uxsor Daari Hic Jacit* (Trefarchog or St. Nicholas). The name is to be analysed into *Tuncet-āc-e* and would be now *Tynghedawg* or *Tynghedog*, *tuncet* being now *tynghed* 'fate': thus it was probably the exact equivalent in meaning of the Latin name *Fortunata*. As to other points connected with this epitaph see pages 206, 216, 217, 244. To the remark on the doubling of the *a* in *Daari*, p. 216, add the following instances from the Continent, mentioned by Fröhner, p. xxvii:—*Craaniani* from Riegel, *Maiaanus* from Luxembourg, and *Ricaamaariu* from Paris; also *Vaaro*, from Bingen, cited by Becker, p. 78. And, lastly, with *Tuncetace* compare *temppistataem* for *tempestatem*, instanced by Fröhner, p. xxix.

73. *Evali Fili Dencui Cuniovende Mater Ejus* (Spittal, near Haverfordwest). If *evo-* in *Evolengi* means *ævum*, then *Evali* may possibly have had the meaning of *Eternalis* or *Vitalis* in other inscriptions. *Dencui* is obscure: it may be either a compound *Den-cui* or *Denc-ui*, or else a derivative, in which case we should probably compare *Dinui* and *Sagranui*: it is to be remarked that the reading of it is not certain. The *vend-* of *Cunio-vende* we have already met with, but *cuni-o* is obscure: it would seem to be derived from *cun-* as in *Cunatami*.

74. *Clotorigi Fili Paulini Marini Latio* (Llandysilio).

Owing to the face of the stone having begun to peel off, I am not certain whether the first name should be read CLOTORIGI or CLUTORIGI. Later the name became *Clotri* and *Clodri*: the corresponding Teutonic forms in Förstemann's list are *Chloderich*, and *Hlodericus*. As to what follows *Paulini*, it is hard to know what to make of it: various ways of explaining it occur to me, but none of them is satisfactory. On the whole I would suggest that MARINILATIO should be divided into *Marini*, an epithet to *Paulini*, and *Latio*, which would then have to mean 'from Latium,' or 'from Litau, i.e., Armorica'; for *Latium* and O. Welsh *Litau*, now *Llydaw*, used to be confounded—witness the Ovid gloss *di Litau*, 'to Llydaw,' intended to explain the Latin *Latio*: the same thing happened also in the case of *Letha*, the O. Irish equivalent of *Llydaw*.

75. *Euolenggi Fili Litogeni Hic Jacit* (Llandysilio). The letters are mixed Roman and Kymric, but there is no excuse for reading the first name *Euolenus*: *Evolengi* has already been mentioned: see page 399. As to *Litogeni*, it is no doubt of the same origin as the Gaulish forms *Litugena*, *Litugenius*, and partly as *Litumara* = O. Welsh "*litimaur* frequens." See pages 183, 253.

76. *Camelorigi Fili Fannuci* (Cheriton, near Pembroke). The second element of *Camelorigi* requires no further explanation, but the other is more obscure. The *e* may be the irrational vowel which is omitted in *Nettasagru* as compared with the Irish *Sagarettos*: in that case the name might be written *Camlorigi*, which would conform better with the analogy of the other Early Welsh names. It is possibly of the same origin as the first part of the probably Gaulish name *Camalodunum*: the root is *kam* 'to vault, to bend, to envelop,' from which are derived *κάμνος*, *καμάρα*, *κάμαρος*, *κάμαρος*; Lat., *camurus*, *camera*; Ger., *himmel*,

'sky, heaven, canopy, roof of a carriage;' and the Teutonic names containing the same element are *Himildrud*, *Himilger*, *Himilrad*, *Berthimil*, while one might at first sight be tempted to equate *Hamalri*, the name of the King of France's steward mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 1123, but this is perhaps not to be thought of, as it is also written *Amauri*, and the *h* supposed to be inorganic: see Förstemann, 77, 687. As to the affix *uc* in *Fannuci* see page 282. The *fann-* we meet with in this name is probably of the same origin as the German verb '*spannen*, to be stretched, to be in suspense,' Eng. *span*.

77. † *Maqveragi* in Ogam (St. Florence): see page 296.

78. † *Magolite Bar . . . cene* in Ogam (in the chapel on Caldy): see page 297.

DEVONSHIRE.

79. *Dobunni Fabri Filli Enabbarri*, and in Ogam *nabarr* (Tavistock). I am not perfectly certain as to the second *l* in *filli*; see page 303, and No. 88 in this list. The first name seems to be the same as that of the tribe whom Ptolemy calls *Δοβουνοι* in South Wales. *Enabbarri* contains one element, *barr-*, which has already been noticed: the other *ena* seems to be the same as the *ene* of *Encuiri* of a much later inscription now in the chapel at Goodrich Court. It stands probably for *enna* = an earlier *enda*, which in Irish occurs as a man's name, *Enna*, *Enda*: in modern Welsh names it is of course reduced into *en-* as in *Enfael*, *Enddwyn* and the like, with which may be compared in the Teutonic languages, *Enda*, *Indgar*, *Indulf*, or else *Ando*, *Andegar*, *Andarich*, and the like.

80. *Sabini Fili Maccodecheti* (Tavistock, brought thither from Buckland Monachorum). *Sabini*, which would be the

genitive of *Sabinus*, a name well-known to epigraphists, is perhaps to be read *Sarini*; for owing to a hole cut in the stone it is now impossible to say which is right. The form *Sabini* would be identical with *Hefin* in the *Iolo MSS.*, p. 108. As to *Maccodecheti*, see pages 163, 174-177, 180, 181, 203, 274, 277, and Appendix B.

81. (a) *Fanoni Maqviri*: (b) *Sagranui*, and (c) in Ogam *Swagqvuci Maqi Qvici* (British Museum, brought from Fardel, near Ivybridge). *Fanoni* stands probably for *Fannoni*, of the same origin as *Fannuci*. The meaning of *rin* in *Maqviri* is not evident, nor is one certain as to the formation of the name *Sagranui*: the *n* is written like an *H*, but it is not probable that it is to be read so; moreover, the *H* and the *V* are so placed as to suggest a conjoint character for MN or NN: they are not quite joined. Thus the possible readings are *Sagranui*, *Sagranni*, *Sagranmi*, *Sagrahui*. This inscription is not on the same face as that of *Fanoni*, nor in so early letters: see also pages 282, 303.

82. *Valci Fili V . . . aius* (Bowden, near Totness). I have not yet had time to visit the locality of this stone, and I take the above from Hübner's book—I have failed to guess the reading of the rest, though the epitaph seems to be complete; the fac-simile seems to come originally from Gough's Camden. The first name would seem to be identical with our *gwalch* in *Gwalchmai*.

CORNWALL.

83. *Latini Ic Jacit Filius Ma : : arii*, and in Ogam, traces of an inscription ending in *i* (Worthyvale, near Camel-ford). The father's name is partly illegible, and the final *i* is horizontally placed and of an unusual length: see also page 209. As *Latini*—there is no excuse for reading it *Catini*—is nominative it probably stands for

Latinis = *Latinius*—see page 178 ; several instances of the simpler form *Latinus* are cited by Fröhner, p. 50, and one of them seems to come from London.

84. *Ulcagni Fili Severi* (Nanscow, near Wadebridge). These names we have already met with : one is Celtic and the other Latin.

85. *Vailathi Fili Frocha* : : *i* (Wilton, near Cardynham). The reading of the one name is not very certain, and the origin of both is obscure ; in any case the inscription must be a comparatively late one, as proved both by the spelling and the style of the letters.

86. *Annicuri* (Lanivet, near Bodmin). I have not seen it, and I cannot explain the name, but the first part *anni* is probably to be regarded as identical with *anda-* in *Andagelli* : the rest coincides with the portion read of a name on the Abercar stone, Brecknockshire : see No. 39.

87. † *Drustagni Hic Jacit Cunomori Filius* (The Long Stone, near Fowey). The first name has been read *Cirusius*, but what has been taken to be *CI* is an inverted *D* ; moreover, the *ius* of *Cirusius* does not account for all the traces of letters on that part of the stone, but my *-agni* is rather a guess than a reading. *Drustagni* would be the early form of our *Drystan* ; compare also the Pictish *Drostan*, *Drosten*, *Drust*, and other related forms. *Cunomori* is composed of *cun-*, already noticed, and *mor-* probably the prototype of our adjective *mawr* 'great' : the name is now *Cynfor* in Wales.

88. *Bonemimori Filli Tribuni* (Rialton, near St. Columb Minor). The name which here occurs as *Bonemimori* is to be met with in a variety of forms, I am told, on the Continent : *filli* stands no doubt for *filji* or *fillji*, with which may be compared *filia*, *Julliacus*, *Julliani* mentioned by

Fröhner, p. xxix; also *Turpilli* on the Glan Usk Park stone. *Filli* seems to be the spelling also on one of the Tavistock stones. The father's name seems to be the Latin *tribunus* used as a proper name.

89. *Conetoci Fili Tegernomali* (St. Cubert). The lettering though clear is rude and inclines to early Kymric, especially the *G* which has the form of a *J* being intermediate between the Capel Brithdir specimen and the ordinary Kymric *ȝ*. *Conetoci* stands possibly for an earlier *Cunatāci* or *Cunotāci*, but whether that would be a derivative with the suffix *āc* or *ōc*, or a compound *Cuno-tāc-i* is not evident. In the former case *Conetoci* would imply a noun *conet*, possibly of the same origin as *connet* in the Gaulish name *Conconneto-dumnus*, but more likely of the same as our *con* in *gogonedd* or *gogoniant* 'glory,' whence *Conetoci* might mean *gloriosus* or the like. Compare *Tuncet-āc-e*, O. Welsh *Marget-jud*, and the Gaulish *Orgeto-riz*. As to *Tegernomali*, see pages 31, 213: it means 'king-like or lord-like': the only other name of the same formation in Welsh which occurs to me is *Jonafal* (*Brut y Tywys*. p. 28, *Myvyr. Arch.* p. 659, 692): compare *dihafal* 'without a like, unrivalled,' and Breton *Riaval*. The author of a life of St. Samson, who is supposed to have written in the earlier part of the 7th century, addresses his preface "ad Tigerinomalum Episcopum," where we have *Tegernomalum* spelled with an irrational *i*: the epitaph in question is also in all probability to be ascribed to the 7th century.

90. *Nonnita Ercilivi Ricati Tris Fili Ercilinci* (Tregoney). *Nonnita* was a woman, though she and her two brothers are here termed "*tris* (= *tres*) *fili*:" it was the name of St. David's mother, and has come down in *Eglwys Nunyd*, that is, in Welsh spelling *Eglwys Nynydd*, the name of an extinct church near Margam: otherwise in Welsh tradition it usually takes the shorter form *Non* or

Nonn. *Ercilivi* and *Ercilinci* are of the same origin as *Ercagni* already noticed : on the Trallong stone we find *Cunocenni Filius Cunoceni* called in Ogam *Cunacennivi*, and the present instance is a fair parallel, *Ercil(inci) Filius* being made into *Ercilivi*, or, as it would be in Ogam, *Erciliwi*. On the termination *inc*, now *ing*, see the *Arch. Cambrensis* for 1872, page 302. *Ricati* probably means king of battle : compare the Teutonic *Rihhad* (Förstemann, 1047) ; however it does not appear that the Welsh name is a compound, for were that the case we should expect to find it assuming the form of *Rigocati* or the like : so it remains that it should be treated as consisting of a nominative *ri* (for an earlier *rix*) and the genitive of the stem *catu*, which would have been in Early Welsh *catu* or *cato*, making the whole word into *Ricato* or *Ricatu*, which, dealt with in the same way as *Trenagusu*, made into *Trenegusi* in the Latin version, would yield *Ricati* and retain at the same time quite as much of the appearance of a nominative as the *Ercilivi* immediately preceding it.

91. † *Vitali Fili Torrici* (St. Clement's, near Truro). This inscription is preceded by a group of very much smaller letters which seem to make *Isnioc*, which has never been explained. *Vitali*, for *Vitalis*, is a Latin name which occurs in inscriptions of the time of the Roman occupation : see also page 176. It is not improbable that *Torrici*, on the other hand, is Celtic ; as we have the name *Turrog* which would have been in Early Welsh *Turrâc* or *Torrâc*. To this may be added from the *Lichfield Gospel* a compound name *Turgint* with *gint* as in *Bledgint*, now *Bleddyn*, which probably meant *wolf-child*, as *gint*, seems to be our formal equivalent to Latin *gens*, *gentis*, Lithuanian *gintis*, 'race,' *gentis*, 'a relative,' Ger. *kind*, 'a child.' But I would not be certain that our *torr* in *Torrici* is the equivalent of the leading element

in the Teutonic names, *Thurismund*, *Thurismod*, *Thorismuth*, *Thurisind* (Förstemann, 1200, 1201).

92. *Clotuali Morhatti* (Phillack, near Hayle). *Morhatti*, the composition of which is not very transparent, is found in the Bodmin Manumissions in various forms, such as *Morhatho*, *Morhatho*. The other name is easily explained: it is made up of *clot*, now *clod* 'praise, fame' and *ual*, that is *wal*, which stands for a præ-Celtic *valpa* English *wolf*: so that *Clotual* is exactly matched in Förstemann's list by *Chlodulf*, *Clodulf*, *Hludolf*, Mod. H. Ger. *Ludolph*: compare the case of *Velvor* in No. 29.

93. [. *In Pa*]ce *Mul*[ier] *Requievit* n *Cunaide Hic* [*In*] *Tumulo Jacit Vixit Annos Xxiii* (Hayle). The reading of this epitaph is, I fear, hopeless: as to *Cunaide* see pages 217, 222.

94. *Qvenatauci Ic Dinui Filius* (Gulval, near Penzance). *Qvenatauci* stands probably for *Qvennatauci*: see pages 211, 212, 224, 281. The name *Dinui* is obscure, and I cannot find a trace of it elsewhere.

95. *Rialobrani Cunovali Fili* (Lanyon, pronounced *Lan-nine*, near Penzance). *Cunovali* consists of elements which we have already noticed: it is in Mod. Welsh *Cynwal*, and in Irish *Connell*, see page 85. The exact Teutonic equivalent occurs as *Hunulf* or *Hunolf* (Förstemann, 762): similar instances are *Catgual* (*Liber Landav.* p. 132) = Ir. *Cathal*, *Gurguol* (p. 157), *Budgual* (p. 263), *Tutgual*, *Tudwal* = Ir. *Tuathal*, better known in its Anglo-Irish dress as *Toole*; these are duly represented in Förstemann's list by *Hathovulf*, *Waraulf*, *Botolf*, and *Theudulf* respectively. The other name, *Rialobrani*, consists of *bran*, 'a crow,' which occurs as a proper name among both the Welsh and the Irish: in *Rialobrani* it would seem to be qualified by an adjective *rial-o*, which I should take to mean *friendly* or *amiable* from the root *pri* 'to love, to enjoy,' whence

the English word *friend*. On Breton ground, however, it occurs as an independent name in the form of *Riol*.

96. XPI. *Senilus Ic Jacit* (St. Just in Penwith). The inscriber left out the letters *ni* from *Senilus* and inserted them afterwards above the line. Whether the name is Celtic or Latin is not easy to decide; but the termination *us* would seem to imply that we have here to do with a form totally distinct from the Latin *Senilia*.

SCOTLAND.

97. *Hic Memor Jacet* *Princ*
Dumnoceni Hic Jacet In Tumulo Duo Fili . . Libe-
rali . . . (near Yarrow Kirk, Selkirkshire). The letters appear to be very far gone, and the reading of them, as here guessed from Hübner's book, to be of very little value, but we seem to find in them one Celtic name and one or two Latin ones. *Dumnoceni* begins with the same element as *Dumnorix* or *Dubnorix*, and the Mod. Welsh *Dyfnwal*, Irish *Domhnal*, Anglo-Irish *Donnell*: the syllable *cen*, if it is not to be read *gen*, stands probably for *cenn*, as in *Cunocenni*.

98. *In Oc Tumulo Jacit Vetta F[ilia] Victi* (In Kirkliston Parish, between 7 and 8 miles from Edinburgh). I have never seen the stone, and I am not convinced that the father's name is complete as it now stands. Scotch antiquaries usually treat *Vetta* as a man's name, and complete the word following into *filius*, but for no better reason, it would seem, than that they think they detect in *Vetta* the name of a warrior of the Hengist and Horsa family. But to me the inscription appears to differ in no particular from those of Wales and Cornwall; but even if a Teutonic *Vetta* were meant, analogy would lead one to expect his name not to appear exactly in that form in this inscription. However, the genitive masculine correspond-

ing to our *Vetta* is cited by Fröhner as *Vetti*: in one instance it comes from Xanten, and in the other from Stettfeld. Supposing, however, that the doubling of the *t* in *Vetta* is inorganic, the name would naturally connect itself with the O. Irish *Féth* and *Il-weto* in No. 36.

B.—*MACCU, MUCOI, MAQVI, MACWY.*

Lest difficulties should seem to be intentionally slurred over, some remarks will here be made on the word *maccu* and others related to it. The inscriptions most nearly concerned are the following :—

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| No. 1. Hic Jacit Maccu-Decceti (Anglesey), | |
| No. 80. Sabini Fili Macco-Decheti (Devonshire). | |
| No. 68. (a) Trenegussi Fili Macu-Treni | } (Pembroke-shire). |
| (b) Trenagusu Maqvi Maqvi-Treni | |
| No. 69. Nettasagru Maqvi Mucoi-Breci | |

Irish inscriptions offer us not only *mucoi*, but also *muccoi* and *moco*, and later Irish *mocu* and *maccu*, whence it appears that we may regard *mucoi*, in No. 68, as the genitive of a form which the Kymry wrote indifferently *macco*, *maccu*, *macu*, or perhaps *mucco*, *muccu*, *mucu*. Moreover, *Mucoi-breci* does not seem to be a compound, and the same may be said of *Maccu-Decceti* in No. 1; but *Macco-Decheti* and *Macu-Treni* have been treated as though they were compounds, and their first element left without being changed into the genitive, as it strictly should have been. Irish enables us to analyse these forms into their constituent parts: these are *mac-* or *macc-*, which we have in Welsh in *mag-u*, formerly *mac-u* 'to nurse, to rear, to bring up,' as in the proverb '*Cas gwr ni charo'r wlad a'i maco*' 'hateful is he who loves not the land that rears

him," and a word which in Irish appears as *o* 'a grandson, or descendant,' genitive *uí*—everybody is familiar with it as the *O* prefixed with a misleading apostrophe to Irish names, as in *O'Connell*, *O'Donovan*, *O'Mooney*, and the like. The nearest related Welsh word still in use is *w-yr* 'a grandson,' but both have lost an initial *p*, and are of a common origin with the Latin *puer* 'a boy.' Mr. Stokes, in the first volume of Kuhn's *Beiträge*, takes the meaning of *maccu* or *mocu* to be grandson or descendant: he mentions the following instances, p. 345:—"De periculo Sancti Colmani Episcopi Mocusailni" (*Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 29); "Silnanum filium Nemanidon Mocusogin" (*ib.*, p. 108); "Sancti Columbani Episcopi mocu Loigse animam" (*ib.*, p. 210), but there lay, he says, six generations between this Columbanus and Loigis; "De Erco fure Mocudruidi" (*ib.*, p. 77)—we meet elsewhere with *Maccudruad*; "Brendenus Mocualti" (*ib.*, 220); "Quies Cormaic abbatis cluana Macconois" (*Annals of Ulster*, A.D., 751)—the abbey is still called *Clonmacnoise*; "Dubthach Macculugir" (*Tirech.* 13), which he finds transformed in the *Liber Hymnorum* into "Dubtach mc. huilugair," i.e., "D. filius nepotis Lugari"—the same would seem to have been the fate of *maccu* generally in later Irish. In his *Goidelica*, Mr. Stokes mentions two other instances, namely, *Muirchú Maccumachtheni*, p. 84; also, p. 62, a *Macculasrius* in a Latin hymn for *Lasrián*, whence, he suggests, that *maccu* may be equivalent to the diminutival ending *-án*. Since the printing of the books alluded to, Mr. Stokes has communicated to me some further notes on *maccu*. Among other things, he finds that in Irish it had the force of "*gens, genus*," as, for instance, in the words "ad insolas maccu-chor" (*Book of Armagh*, 9. a. 2); moreover, that *maccu* or *mocu* had this meaning is proved, he thinks, by

its interchange with *corca* and *dal*, as in *Mocu-Dalon* = *Corca-Dallan* (*Adamnan's Life of St. Columba*, p. 220, in *Mocu-runtir* = *Dal-Ruinntir* (*ib.*, p. 47), in *Mocu-Sailni* = *Dal-Sailne* (*ib.*, p. 29), in *Mocu-themne* = *Corcu-temne* (*Book of Armagh*, 13. b. 2), and *Corcu-teimne* (*ib.*, 14. a. 1), and in the fact that the phrase "de genere Runtir" appears as a translation of *Mocu-Runtir*. Such instances as *Colmani episcopi Mocusailni*, and *Columbani episcopi mocu Loigse*, he regards as references to the Irish tribal bishops, which should be rendered *C. episcopi gentis Sailni*, and *C. episcopi gentis Loigse*.

Judging from our inscriptions, we have no reason to think that the Kymry used *maccu* in a collective sense, and the meaning which seems to be suggested by the origin of the word and its uses is 'reared offspring,' or, perhaps, more strictly, 'offspring in the course of being reared,' that is in the singular, let us say, a child, a boy, or a young man who has not done growing, and ultimately a young man without any further restriction of meaning. This is confirmed by the fact that the same person seems to be called *Macu-Treni* and *Maqvi-Treni* in No. 68—in any case, the distinction between *maccu* and *maqv-i* cannot have been so considerable that they could not, under certain circumstances, both be applied to the same person. But we have other means of fixing the meaning of *maccu*; for the genitive *mucoi*, in its form of *maccoi*, has come down bodily into Mod. Welsh as *macwy*, the signification of which will be evident from the following examples:—"Myned a wnaeth i'r maes a dau faccwy gydag ef," 'he went to the field accompanied by two young men,' quoted in Dr. Davies' dictionary from *Historia Owain ab Urien*; in the next quotation from *Cynddelw* in the *Myvyrian Archæology* (Gee's edition), p. 183a, the word is applied to Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego—

“ Kan diffyrth Trindaut tri maccuy o dan
Tri meib glan glein ovuy.”

A third instance, interesting also as being in the dual number, may be added from the *Mabinogion* iii. 265—“*deu vackwy wineuon ieueinc yn gware gwydbwyll*,” ‘two auburn-haired young men playing at chess.’ The word was eventually degraded to mean an attendant or a groom: compare the Greek *παῖδιον* yielding us the French and English *page*.

Returning to the phonology of the words in question, we may notice that the *oi* of Early Welsh could but yield *wy* or *oe* in Mod. Welsh; and as to the retention of the case vowel compare such instances as *oleu* ‘oil,’ and *pydeu* ‘a pit,’ from *oleum* and *puteus*. This was secured by the accent being on the ultima, which is proved to have been its former position by the fact that the word is now *macwy* and not *magwy*. Then as to the interchange of *a*, *o*, and *u*, in the first part of these words, one is driven to compare them with the Welsh *ac* or *ag*, formerly also *oc* ‘and, with,’ *agos*, *cyfagos* ‘near, neighbouring,’ Irish *agus* ‘and,’ O. Ir, *ocus*, *occus*, and *comocus* ‘near.’ It is tolerably certain that these words come from the same origin as Greek *ἀγγῶν*, *ἀγγι* ‘near, nigh, close by,’ Lat. *angustus*, Ger. *eng* ‘narrow,’ all from a lengthened form of the root *agh*, namely *angh*. Thus it appears that in our Celtic forms the mute preceded by the nasal underwent provection into *c* or *cc*—other instances of the same kind have been briefly mentioned by me in the *Revue Celtique*, ii. 190–192,—and the nasal imparted to the vowel its obscure timbre: perhaps one should rather say that the vowel was nasalised, and came to be rendered by *a*, *o*, or *u*, while both Irish and Welsh ultimately restored it to a clear *a*.

By a parity of reasoning the first part of our *maccuy* should be referred to a root *mangh*, but is there such a

root? There is; but Fick gives it only as a lengthened form of *magh*, whence he derives, among others, the following words: Sansk. *mahant* 'great,' Greek *μῆχος* 'a means, expedient, remedy,' Lith. *magóju* 'I help,' O. Bulg. *moga* 'I can, am able,' Gothic *magan*, Eng. *may*. The meaning which he ascribes to it oscillates between the ideas of growing and causing to grow, of being able and making able. It is to the same origin that one has to refer our *map*, *mab* 'son,' Early Welsh *magv-i*, the nominative corresponding to which must once have been *magvas*. For Irish inscriptions show not only the common forms, *magv-i*, but also *magqv-i* and *moqv-i*, where the hesitation as to the vowel points to the same cause as in *macru* and *mucoi*. Thus *magvas*, genitive *magv-i*, analyses itself into *mag-va-s*, that is *mac-va-s* or *mac-wa-s*: compare *ebol* 'a colt,' formerly *epawl*, a derivative from *ep*, the Welsh representative of O. Irish *ech* 'a horse,' and Lat. *equus*, O. Lat. *equos*, for *ec-vo-s*, as may be seen from the corresponding Sanskrit, which is *aç-va-s*: the Greeks had both *ἵππος* and *ἵκκος*. On the use of the affix *va* in the Aryan languages see Schleicher's *Compendium*, § 218: in Welsh, excepting where the *v* preceded by *c*, as in these two instances, has yielded *qv*, *p*, *b*, it is now represented by *w* as in *erw* 'an acre' (compare Lat. *arvum*), *malw-od* 'snails,' *carw* 'a stag:' compare Lat. *cervus*.

Besides the foregoing forms which are to be referred to the longer root *mangh*, we have also one from the shorter *magh*, namely, *meu* in *meudwy* 'a hermit,' for *meu-dwyw* = "servus Dei," in Irish *céle-dé* or *Culdee*. *Meu-* stands for *mag-*: see page 13. The Cornish was *maw* 'a boy, a lad, a servant,' Breton *maou-er* 'a woman,' Ir. *mugh* 'a servant,' O. Ir. *mug*, genitive *moga*, Gothic *magus* 'a boy, child, manservant,' Mod. H. Ger. *magd*, Eng. *maid*.

C.—SOME WELSH NAMES OF METALS AND ARTICLES MADE OF METAL.

The words I here propose briefly to discuss are the following :—*alcam* 'tin,' *arjan* 'silver, money,' *aur* 'gold,' *bath* 'a stamp, coin, money,' *efydd* 'copper,' *ellyn* 'a razor,' *grut*—in the proper name *Grutneu*, *haiarn* 'iron,' together with *ei*—in *Eimetiacu*, *mwn*, *mwnai* 'ore,' *plwm* 'lead,' *pres* 'brass, coppers, pence,' *ystaen* 'tin.' It is evident at a glance that these are not all of native origin, some being the result of borrowing from Latin, and some from English.

i. 1. The first to strike one as borrowed from Latin is *plwm*, 'lead,' from *plumbum*. there are in N. Cardiganshire lead mines which are popularly supposed to have been worked by the Romans. The Irish appear to have retained a native term of the same origin as English *lead* or *lode*, in the Irish gloss *luaidhe* "plumbum." See Stokes' *Irish Glosses*, p. 83.

2. In the next place there can be no doubt that our *aur* 'gold' is the Welsh form of *aurum*. For were *aur* simply cognate with *aurum*, which, in all probability stands for *ausum*, it should be now not *aur*, but some such a form as *au* or *u*.

3. As to *arian*, that is, *arjan* 'silver, money,' formerly *arjant*, Breton *archant* or *archand*, Cornish *archans*, O. Irish *argat*, later *airged*, the case is not so easy to decide : I am inclined to think all these forms to have been borrowed from Latin.

4. It is much the same with *ystaen*, a dissyllable accented on the *a* ; as now used, it is neither more nor less both in form and meaning than the English word *stain*, but Dr. Davies in his dictionary gives *stannum* as

its only Latin equivalent, while he explains *ystaenio* as "maculare, maculis conspergere." The Breton is *stëan*, Cornish *stean*, and Mr. Stokes gives the Mod. Irish as *sdan*, while Edward Llwyd writes *stán*. None of these is such as to convince one that it is not to be traced to the Latin *stannum*, or what is supposed to be the older form of the word, namely *stagnum*.

5. To these may be added our *bath* or *math* commonly used in the sense of 'a kind, species, the like of'; formerly it meant also 'money, coin, treasure,' as in the *Iolo MSS.* p. 194, and this is the meaning which prevails in the longer forms, *bathu* 'to coin or stamp money,' *bathodyn* 'a medal,' and *bathol* 'coined or stamped.' These words come, no doubt, from the same source as the French *battre* 'to beat,' as in *battre monnaie* 'to coin money.' The French verb is traced by Diez (*Etym. Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*; Bonn, 1869) through an intermediate *batere* to the classical *batuere*, 'to strike, beat, hit,' at the same time that he quotes instances of the former with *tt*, of which one at least dates from the 6th century: Ducange gives *battare*, *battere*, and *battire*, together with *baptidere* and *baptire*, as in *baptire monetam* = *nummos cudere*; but it would be useless to question or define the connection between these forms and *batuere* without examining the texts in which they are said to occur; but it may here be pointed out that the Welsh words are best accounted for by *battare*, the participle of which, *battâtus*, is implied in our *bathod-yn* 'a medal.' The old meaning of *bath* or *math*, namely that of a stamp or mark made by beating, is betrayed by the preposition still sometimes used after it, as in *math ar ddyn* 'a kind or stamp of man,' literally 'a stamp on man.' But as the connotation of the word has been forgotten, it is becoming the fashion to write *math o ddyn*, which tallies exactly

with the English 'a kind or stamp of man.' *Bath* and *math* are further interesting as being in a state of incipient desynonymisation: thus one may say *math o anifail* 'a kind of animal,' but not *bath o anifail*, and *anifail o'i bath hi* would be 'an animal like her,' while *anifail o'i math hi* would mean, if it occurred, 'an animal of her species or genus,' with a more explicit reference to classification. *Math* in virtue probably of its meaning 'coin, money, treasure,' has treated Welsh mythology to several proper names—compare the Greek *πλοῦτος* 'wealth, riches,' and *Pluto* or *Plutus*, the name of the god who guarded the treasures of the earth. Thus we have a *Math ab Mathonwy* with his headquarters near the lake of Geirionydd, in Carnarvonshire, in a wild district by no means ill chosen for a Cambrian Pluto: unfortunately, but, perhaps, accidentally, the *Mabinogion* make no allusion to the guardianship of the treasures of the subterranean world as one of the duties incumbent on the weird king of Caerdathl. But it is remarkable that one of the leading personages in the Welsh myth which comes nearest to the well-known story of the rape of Proserpine bears the name of *Matholwch*, and in some other respects recalls the classic Pluto, while one or two of the incidents mentioned in the tale fall into striking agreement with a part of the account of Gudrun: see Cox's *Tales of Teutonic Lands* (London, 1872), pp. 190–201, and the story of *Branwen Verch Llŷr* in Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, iii. pp. 81–140.

ii. 1. To return to the question of our names for tin, it is to be noticed that the word now in common use among the Welsh is none other than the English one. In the Bible, however, and other books it is called *alcam*, to which Pughe tried to give the more easily explained form of *alcan*. But there is no disguising the

fact that it must be the outcome of a comparatively recent borrowing from English : witness the use made of the word *alchemy* by Milton in the lines—

“ Toward the four winds four speedy cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchymy,
By herald's voice explained ; the hollow abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of hell
With deafening shout returned them loud acclaim.”

2. To the foregoing may be added the word *mw nai*, which Dr. Davies explains as *moneta*, *nummus* : the word undoubtedly comes from the English *money* in its older form of *monete*, which is the Latin *moneta* introduced through the medium of French : however the Welsh word no longer means *money* but *ore* or *metal*, and so did the shortened form *mwn* even in Davies' time as the only meaning he gives it is *quodvis metallum fossile*, which it still retains. It is also frequently pronounced and written *mwyn* : at any rate there is no satisfactory evidence that this is an instance of confounding two different words.

3. Lastly must be mentioned *pres*, ‘brass, pence,’ which seems to be a loan-word of older standing in the language, as it comes from the O. English *bræcs*, *bres*, now *brass* ; the change of the initial consonant occurs in other words borrowed from English, not to mention Fluellen's *plood* and *prains*, which are probably too late to help us here.

iii. 1.—Passing on to the remaining words, which are of Welsh origin, one may begin with *efydd* ‘copper,’ O. Welsh *emid*, “æ,” in the Capella glosses. The Irish equivalent *umae* with *u* for an earlier *a*, as in *ubhal*, ‘an apple,’ Welsh *afal*, is, as Mr. Stokes kindly informs me, either a masculine or a neuter of the *Ja*-declension. Consequently it is probable that the *d* of *emid* had the sound of the *dd* of our modern *efydd* and represented an

an earlier semi-vowel *j*: for other instances see the *Rev. Celtique*, ii. 115-118. The base would then have been *emija* or rather *amija*, the *a* being modulated later into *e* through the influence of the *i* following in the next syllable. Further we have found *m* standing for an earlier *b*, and, supposing this to be an instance in point, *amija* may be restored to the form *abija*. We have also analogy for thinking *abija* to represent an earlier *abisja*, and supposing the *b* here, as frequently, to stand for an Aryan *gv*, we substitute for *abisja* an earlier form *agvisja*: assuming this last to be also a word inherited by the Teutons, one gets almost exactly the Gothic *aqvisi*, genitive *aqvizjos*, English *are*. I said almost exactly, for *aqvisi* is feminine, while *efydd* is masculine, but the O. Welsh plural *emedou* "aera" in the Ovid glosses would seem to come from a singular *emed*, which could hardly fail to be feminine like the Gothic equivalent. This equation can scarcely be of more interest to the glottologist than the student of early civilisation and culture.

2. The word *ellyn*, 'a razor,' and its congeners somewhat reverse the relative positions which have just been assigned Celts and Teutons. *Ellyn* is proved to stand for *eltinn* or rather *altinn* by the Breton *abten*, earlier *autenn*, Irish *altan*, all from a simple *alt*, which occurs in Breton as *aot*, *aod*, *als* "rivage de la mer, plage, bord de l'eau," Cornish *als* "littus," where we should say *glan y mor* 'seashore,' or *min y mor* 'the edge of the sea.' In Welsh the same word is *allt*, also *gallt*, which is sometimes given as meaning a cliff, but it does not so much mean that or the edge of a hill,—for it need not have an edge, brow, or cliff,—as the whole ascent of any rising ground, which may, therefore, be compared to the side of a blade, such, for example, as that of a razor, regarded as forming an inclined plane; and this may have been originally the idea conveyed by

the Irish *alt*, which Mr. Stokes translates 'a cliff or height.' From *alt* were formed a masculine *altinn* whence Welsh *ellyn*, O. Cornish *clinn* [read *ellinn*] "novacula," and a feminine *altenn* whence the Breton *autenn*, *aðten* 'a razor.' As to *alt* itself, it probably stands for a base *alda* or, let us say, *ald*: for other instances of the provection of sonants into surds see the *Rev. Celtique*, ii. 332-335. Now we seem to detect *ald*, but with *r* instead of *l*, in the Greek word *ἀρδῖς* "the point of anything, as for instance of an arrow," in the O. Norse *ertja* "to goad, to spur on," and in the Mod. H. German *erz* 'ore, brass:' see Fick's dictionary,⁸ i. 498.

3. It has already been pointed out that our *aur* is a borrowed word, but the name *Grudneu*, which occurs in an inscription of the O. Welsh period as *Grutne*, with its final *u* cut off by the marginal ornamentation on the stone, seems to put us on the track of a native word for the precious metal. The Greek word is *χρυσός*, which Curtius, in his *Outlines of Greek Etymology*, No. 202, regards as derived from a base *ghartja*, while *gold* and its Teutonic congeners, together with the O. Bulg. *zlato* 'gold,' imply a simpler base, *gharta*. Now the corresponding process to that whereby *ghartja* yielded *χρυσός*, and *gharta* the English *gold* and O. Bulg. *zlato* would result in giving *gharta* or *ghartja* the form *grūt*, *grūd*, in Welsh; so that we are at liberty to equate *Grutneu*, *Grudneu* with the Greek name *Χρυσον*, in all respects excepting that of gender: even this reserve is not to be made in the case of *Grudgen* (*Mabinogion* iii. 98), for *Grut-gen*, and the Greek *Χρυσογενής*. Besides these we have *Grudlwyn* (*Mab.* ii. 211); and in the *Myvyrian Archæology* *Grudneu* (p. 389) is also called *Grudnew* (p. 404), *Grudlwei* (p. 397), *Grudner* (p. 412), of which the two last may be real names distinct from *Grudneu*, and not merely mistaken readings of it. Before leav-

X ing these forms it is right to mention that the steps from *gharta* or *ghartja* to *grūd* would be *ghart-*, *gort-*, *grōt-*, *grūt*, *grūd*. The same is the history, for instance, of the Med. Welsh *drut* 'a hero,' now *drud*, plural *drudjon*, as in the name of the Denbighshire village of *Cerrig y Drudion*, i.e., the stones of the heroes, which it is the habit of the people who are druid-mad to write *Cerrig y Druidion*. Now *drūt*, *drūd* comes from *dharta*, whence also the Sanskrit *dhṛta*, formed from the verb *dhar* 'to hold, to bear, to support, to make firm, &c.' It would perhaps be more in keeping with Celtic analogy to set out from *ghārdta* or *ghārdtja* and *dhārdta*: compare Welsh *llaw*, Ir. *lámh*, from *plāma* for an earlier *pāldma*, Greek *παλάμη*, 'the palm of the hand, the hand,' O. Eng. *folm*, *folme*, the same.

4. Before attempting the history of the word *haiarn*, 'iron,' it will be necessary to analyse the epithet *Eimetiaco* on the Llanaelhaiarn stone, which I propose to divide into *Ei-metiaco*, whereof the *o* is the ending of the Latin nominative for *-os* = *-us*. Now *metiac-* probably means as a matter of pronunciation *metjāc*, which would later have, according to rule, to become *metjauc*, *meitjauc*, *meidjawy*, *meidjog*, liable also to begin with *b* instead of *m*, as no rule has hitherto been discovered as to the interchange of those consonants. The word, however, only survives as a feminine in the names of certain plants, of which three kinds are distinguished by the adjectives, *rhudd* 'red,' *llwyd* 'grey,' *glas* 'blue.'

One finds the following synonyms in Dr. John Davies's *Welsh-Latin dictionary* (London, 1632), and Hugh Davies's *Welsh Botanical* (London, 1813):

a. *Y feidiog rudd* = [*ranunculus*] "*flammula*" (J. D.), = "*polygonum amphibium*, amphibious *persicaria*" (H. D.). These are not the same plants. Those meant by Dr. Davies are of the tribe of the *ranunculus* or *ranunculus*

flammula, called in English the lesser spearwort, by reason of the spear-shaped appearance of the radical leaves of the plant. Those alluded to by Hugh Davies agree better in colour with the Welsh description, and are also said to be generally of an acuminate or speary character.

β. *Y feidiog lwyd* = "*y ganwraidd lwyd, llysiâu Ieuan, llysiâu llwyd, Artemisia*" (J. D.) = "*artemisia vulgaris*, mugwort" (H. D.). *Y ganwraidd*, 'the hundred-root,' is given by H. Davies simply as a synonym for *y feidiog*: *llysiâu llwyd* and *llysiâu Ieuan* are the same, and are called in English St. John's wort. The commonest of these plants, *artemisia vulgaris*, or mugwort, looks at a distance very spiry and acuminate, and the shape of its leaves recalls the sharpness suggested by a spear or lance; and I find that some species of St. John's wort also have lance-like leaves and a spiry or acuminate growth.

γ. *Y feidiog las* = "*mantell Fair, mantell y corr, palf y llew, Chimilla, hederæ terrestris, pes leonis, patta leonis, stellaria*" (J. D.) = "*glechoma hederacea*, gill, ground ivy" (H. D.). Here we meet with hopeless confusion, plants so different as the *alchemilla*, *glechoma*, and *stellaria* being classed together; but it is perhaps to be accounted for by the overlapping of the characteristic suggested by the term *y ganwraidd*, and that intended to be conveyed by its synonym *y feidiog*. But none of the plants alluded to under this head, excepting the *stellaria*, suggests the idea of a spear or lance, which we find in the case of the other two sets. The *stellaria*, or stitchwort, is called *tafod yr edn* 'bird's tongue' by H. Davies, its leaves being remarkably like a bird's tongue both in form and rigidity, and singularly sharp and lance-like in appearance: this is proved by a specimen which lies before me of the *stellaria holostea*, for which, together with other

specimens, as well as plates, and a careful description of all the plants here in question, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Drane, fellow of the Linnean Society.

Thus, it seems, that we are at liberty to conclude that all the plants which were originally called *y feidiog* owed that name to their leaves or growth reminding one of a spear: so *beidjog*, *meidjog*, or *metjâc* may be treated as an adjective formed with the termination *awg, og, E. Welsh âc*, which, to judge from the use generally made of it, would give the word the meaning of 'having a spear or lance, armed with the spear: ' so we might render it into Latin by *hastatus*, and regard *y feidiog* as meaning (*herba*) *hastata*: similarly *Beidauc rut*, i.e., *Beidjauw Rudd*, the name of a son of Emyr Llydaw in *Englynion y Beddau* (Skene, ii. 31, 32), would be *Hastatus Rufus*, or *Hastatus the Red*. The word for spear or lance which *metjâc* may be supposed to imply must have been, at least the base of it, *meti*, *metja*, or possibly *matja*, if the influence of the *j* may be supposed to have occasioned the *a* to become *e*; its origin would probably be the same as that of the Welsh verb *medru* 'to shoot or hit a mark' (*Mabinogion*, ii. 212), now used only in the secondary senses of *kennen* and *können*, *savoir* and *pouvoir*, as that of the Gaulish *mataris* 'a kind of spear or pike,' and as the Lithuanian *metu* 'I cast or throw, O. Prussian *metis* (Fick) 'a cast or throw.' There is, however, it should be noticed in passing, another group of words to which it might possibly be referred, namely, that represented in Welsh by *medi* 'to reap,' Latin *metere*, Eng. *math*. In the former case, to which I give the preference, the weapon meant would be one for hurling or thrusting, and in the latter one for cutting; it is, however, not necessary to decide between them as far as concerns the qualifying syllable *ei* in *Eimetiaco*, which may naturally be supposed to specify the material. And if that is so

there can be no mistaking the word—it is our early equivalent for Latin *æs*, genitive *æris*, and *Alhortus Eimetiaco* would in other words be *Alhortus Ære-hastatus*.

The same *ei* seems to occur in the name *Eiudon* on a stone at Golden Grove, near Llandilo, which dates no earlier than the O. Welsh period, and the question arises how it is this *ei* had not by that time yielded the usual diphthong *oe* or *wy*. The reason is probably to be sought in the fact that it was originally not *ei*, but *e* plus the semi-vowel *j*; and this leads one back to consider the cognate forms. The Latin appears as a monosyllable in *æs*, but not so in *ðēn-* or *dhēn-* in *Ahenobarbus*, *ahenus*, *aenus*, *aheneus*, *aeneus*, in which *dhēn-* or *ðēn* stands for *dhēs-n-* as may be seen from the Umbrian *ahenes* (Corssen i 103, 652), *Æs* and *ahes-* represent an Aryan original *ayas*, which appears in Sanskrit as *āyas* ‘metal, iron,’ and in Gothic as *aiz*, proved by its *z* (for *s*) to have been once a dissyllable accented on its penultimate: see Kuhn’s *Zeitschrift*, xxiii. 126. But a word which in Gothic was *aiz* must according to rule appear in O. English as *ær* or *ār*, Mod. Eng. *ore*. Our parallel to these is the *ei* in question, and in the fact of its not passing in Welsh into *oi*, whence *ui* (*wy*) or *oe*, we have a proof of its representing an early form *ej* for *aja* or *ajas*. Analogous instances offer themselves in *ei* ‘his,’ *ei* ‘her,’ and *heidd*, now *haidd*, ‘barley,’ for forms which in Sanskrit are *asya*, *asyās*, and *sasya* respectively. But the Goidelo-Kymric Celts dropped the medial *s* so early, that for our purpose one may set out from *aja*, *ajas* and *saja* or *sajja*, modified in Welsh into *eja*, *ejas*, and *seja*: to *haidd* may be added *blaidd*, ‘a wolf,’ which enters into Welsh names, and appears in the genitive as *Blai* in Irish, where also perhaps *Bláán* = our *Bleiddan*: the base would be *blazja* from a root *gvas*, whence Sanskrit *gras* ‘to

take into one's mouth, to seize with the teeth, to devour.' One is also reminded of such Greek formations as *τίλιος* and *ἀληθής*, from *τίλιος-ος* and *ἀληθής-ια*, by the Welsh derivatives in *aidd* or *eiddj*, e.g., *hen* 'old,' *henaidd* 'oldish,' *heneiddjo* 'to grow old,' *per*, *peraidd* 'sweet,' *pereiddjo* 'to make sweet,' *gwlad* 'the country,' *gwladaidd* 'countrified,' *llew* 'a lion,' *llewaidd* 'like a lion,' *gwedd* 'the look of a thing,' *gweddaidd* 'looking well,' that is, 'seemly or decent.'

5. How *ayas* has been shortened has just been shown, but it appears slightly different in some of its derivatives, namely, in the Latin *ahēnus*, *ahēneus*, for *ahesnus* *ahesneus*, in the Gothic *eis-arn*, 'iron,' Ger. *eis-en*, 'ferrum,' *eis-ern*, 'ferreus,' O. Eng. *is-en*, *ir-en*, also *is-ern*, and an enigmatic *īrsern*, Mod. Eng. *iron*, dialectically *ire*. These forms in *m* are represented in the Celtic languages by Irish *iarn* and Welsh *haiarn* or *haearn*, 'iron.' Here it is interesting to observe that as the Bronze Age preceded the Iron Age, the idea of iron is not found conveyed by the shorter European forms *æs*, *aiz*, *ær*, *ore*: that comes in only with the derivatives *eisen*, *eisarn*, *isern*, to which one may add Welsh *haiarn* and Irish *iarn*. In *eisarn*, *eisern*, *isern*, the simple form *ayas* has been contracted into *eis-*, *is-*: so in the common language of the Celts, probably before their separation, whence (1) the Gaulish *is-arno-* in the place-name *Isarnodor-i*, which must have meant the 'Iron-door,' while (2) the Goidelo-Kymric Celts dropping the *s* reduced *eisarn-* either into *ejarn-*, which had to become in Irish *éarn*, *iarn*, in consequence of the elision of *j* usual in that language, or else into *iarn-*, which had to become in Welsh *eiarn*, *haiarn* or *haearn*. But what are we to make of the *h* in the latter? This, if organic, should be matched in Irish by an *s*, whence it would, at first sight, seem that the two words cannot be connected,

a view, however, which one could not entertain without the strongest reasons to back it. It has, accordingly, been suggested that *haiarn* stands for *aiharn* with an *h* representing the *s* of *eisarn*. But that seems to be inadmissible, as vowel-flanked *s* probably disappeared in the Goidelo-Kymric period, and that not by way of *h*, but of *z*, for which the Ogam alphabet provided a symbol. My conjecture is that *haiarn* does stand for *aihárn*, but with an *h* evolved by the stress-accent, and that, when later the accent moved to the first syllable, the *h* followed it, excepting in some parts of S. Wales, where the word is now *harn*, which was arrived at possibly by discarding the unaccented syllable of *aiharn*: compare such cases as that of *diháreb* 'a proverb,' *diarhébol* 'proverbial.' It is right, before dismissing the word *haiarn*, to say that it is also found written *haearn*, *hayarn*, and *hawarn*, while in O. Welsh names it occurs as *haern* and *hearn* as in *Haerngen* (*Líb. Landav.*, p. 197) and *Biuhearn* (*Ib.*, pp. 166, 169, 175). The O. Breton form is *hoiarn*, which, through an intermediate *houiarn* (with *oui* = *ui* in the Italian word *cui*) has yielded the Mod. Bret. *houarn*; similarly the Cornish became *hoern*.

These curious forms seem to show that Breton and Cornish continued to change *ē*, *ēi*, *āi*, into *oi*, *ui*, later than the Welsh, and all taken together throw light on, and receive light from, the history of a class of words of which the following may be taken as instances:—*α. Claiar*, *claear*, *clauar* 'lukewarm,' Mod. Bret. *klouar* and, according to Llwyd, *kloyar*, with which it is usual to compare the Greek *χλαρίς*, but that is hardly admissible, unless the latter be the representative of an earlier *εχλαρίς*. *β. Daear*, *dayar*, *daiar*, and poetically *daer* 'earth,' Mod. Bret. *douar*, Corn. *doer*: the original form may have been *d(h)iar-*, *d(h)ipar-*, or *d(h)isar-*, or else *d(h)éiar-*, &c. *γ.*

Gaeaf, gayaf, gauaf, O. Welsh (in the Lichfield Codex) *gaem* 'winter,' Mod. Bret. *goa*ⁿ or *goa*^v, but in the dialect of Vannes *gouia*ⁿ, Corn. *goyf*, O. Irish *gaim*, *dugaimigud* "ad hiemandum" (Stokes' *Irish Glosses*, p. 166), Lat. *hiems*, Greek *χίμῆν*. The root of all these forms is *ghiam*, which, treated as *ghjam* and reduced to *gam*, is the origin of our *gafr*, 'a goat;' the first meaning of that word being probably 'one winter old:' the same is the history of *χίμαρος*, feminine *χίμαρα* 'a goat,' and of O. Norse *gymbr* 'a one year old lamb:' see Curtius' *Greek Etymology*, No. 195. δ. *Graean, graian* 'grave, sand,' Mod. Bret. *grouan* may possibly belong here, but the nearly related word *gro* points in another direction. ι. *Haiach, haeach, hayach, hayachen, haechen* "fere" (Davies), "an instant, instantly, almost, most" (Pughe), are also words the history of which is obscure. But not so (ζ) *traian, traeen* 'a third part,' Irish *trian* (E. Llwyd), which are undoubtedly of the same origin as *tri* 'three,' or rather derived from it.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 22. *Y Penwyn*—I was not aware at the time that *Penwyn* occurs as a genuine proper name, that is, without the article : several instances are to be met with in *The Record of Carnarvon*.

P. 23. Not only *qv* has passed in Welsh into *p, b*, but *tv* also, as is proved by the masculine termination *ep*, now *eb*, which enters into the affix *ineb*, as in *rhwyddineb*, "ease," from *rhwydd*, "easy," and into the affix *tep*, now *deb*, as in *purdeb*, "purity," from *pur*, "pure," and *undeb*, "unity," from *un* "one." In Old Irish *undeb* was *óentu*, genitive *óentad* or *óentath* : this affix has several forms in Irish, which, together with the Welsh equivalent, postulate an earlier *-ndatva*. Compare the Sanskrit affix *tva* in Schleicher's Compendium, § 227, and as to Welsh *t, d* answering Irish *tt, t, d*, it may, I think, be regarded as a rule, that when *gg, dd, bb* (whether produced by provection or the assimilation of a nasal) become *cc (c), tt (t), pp (p)*, reducible in Modern Irish to *g, d, b*, the corresponding consonants in Welsh are *c, t, p* reducible also to *g, d, b*. Take, for instance, Welsh *ac, ag*, "and, with," *agos*, "near," Irish *ag*, "with," *agus*, "and," from *angh-*; Welsh *map, mab*, "son," Irish *macc, mac*, from *mangh-*; Welsh *gwraig*, "woman, wife," plural *gwagedd*, Irish *fracc*, from the same origin probably as Latin *virgo*; and Welsh *cret*, now *cred*, "belief, faith," Old Irish *creitem*, "faith," Scotch Gaelic

creid, "believe," from the same origin as Sanskrit *ṛadda-dhāmi*, "fidem pono:" see pages 72 and 435.

P. 41. Where Welsh reduces *c, t, p* into *g, d, b* and Irish into *ch, th, ph*, I am inclined to think that both languages reduced them first to *c₁, t₁, p₁*, which were further modified into *g, d, b* in Welsh and *ch, th, ph* in Irish.

P. 46. To the instances of analogous cases in other languages mentioned on pages 46 and 47 might be added the case of Danish, as to which Herr Sievers says, p. 126, that its initial consonants are pronounced very forcibly and strongly aspirated, while the same consonants, as medials and finals after a vowel, are allowed to become spirants of very little force or even to be altogether lost. Surd mutes, when initial, are frequently aspirated in Modern Welsh, and this must also be the explanation of the *ch* in *chrotta* and the *th* in *Thaph* and the like: see pages 118, 232.

P. 48. As to *nn* for *nd*, the change is now proved to have taken place rather early in the Early Welsh period by the discovery of the Llansaint stone with its *Vennisetti*, which is identical with a somewhat earlier *Vendesetti* on one of the Llannor stones: so *Vendumagli*, which is in all probability later than either, can only have been the old spelling of what was then pronounced *Vennumagli*, a name identical in fact with the *Vinnemagli* of the Gwytherin stone: this last form is remarkable as the only instance known of the retention of the *i* of *vind-* which elsewhere appears as *vend-* or *venn-*.

P. 66. Another way of looking at Welsh *ith* for *et* is suggested by an elaborate article, in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, iii. pp. 106-123, bearing the title "Remarques sur la phonétique romane—*i* parasite et les consonnes mouillées en français:" the same appears even more clearly in the second volume, pp. 482, 483, of Dr. Johannes Schmidt's work entitled *Zur Geschichte des*

indogermanischen Vocalismus (Weimar, 1875). There he mentions a German dialect in which *knecht*, *recht*, *wechseln*, *hexe* become *knaicht*, *raicht*, *waickseln*, *haicks*: the *i* he ascribes to the influence of the guttural becoming palatal and imparting its *i* element to the vowel proceeding. This applied to the Welsh instances would lead one to suppose that *noct-* before yielding our *noeth* had to pass through *nocht-*, *noichth*, *noith-*: similarly (see page 209) *peis*, *pais*, from *peza*, and *air*, *aer*, from *agr-*, would imply as intermediate forms *peixa* and *aigr-*. This view would comprehend also such cases as that of the *i* of *doi*, now *doe*, or more fully as still used in South Wales *y ddoe* "the day," i.e. yesterday:" the Breton is *déac'h*.

Same page, line 15, *for* "certainly" read "possibly:" the *n* alone is doubtful.

P. 68. The principle attempted to be established on pages 67, 68, and 69 is fully recognised, I find, by Sievers, p. 134 of the work already alluded to.

P. 72. An excellent account of *çraddhâ*, &c., by M. Darmesteter, will be found in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, iii. pp. 52-55, where he shows that *çraddadhâmi* consists of *çrad*, an indeclinable and obsolete word for *heart*, and *dadhâmi*, "I set or place," so that the compound means "I set my heart," both in the way of confidence or trust, and of desire or appetite: similarly the Latin *crêdo*, from which the Celtic forms cannot be derived, as some have thought, is to be analysed into *cred-do*, with *cred-* of the same origin as *cor*, *cord-is*, English *heart*, Modern Irish *croidhe*, Welsh *craidd*, both of which postulate as their earlier form *crad-ja* of the same formation as the Greek *κράδιη*.

P. 91. The existence of several kinds of *a* in the parent-speech has recently been proved in Curtius' *Studien*, ix. pp. 361-407.

P. 92, five lines from the bottom, for "Early" read "Old."

P. 102. That the *ch* in *buoch* stands for an *s* is still very doubtful: compare *hwch* "a sow," which as a river-name is *Hwch* in Wales, *Suck* in Ireland, and *Sow* in England. The next Article on *Duw* had perhaps better be cancelled on account of the Old Welsh *diu*, genitive *doiu* or *duiu* in Cormac's Glossary, and so in *Guasduiu*, of which I take *Guasduin* and *Guasdinu* in the *Liber Landav.*, p. 267, to be misreadings, later it became *Gwasdwy*, which is printed *Gwas Dwy* in *The Record of Carnarvon*, where we have also *Gwasanfreit* and *Gwasmyhangel*: compare *Gwas Crist* and *Gwas Teilo*, which occur elsewhere as men's names, also *meudwy*, "a hermit," lit. "God's servant," for *meu-dwyw*, and Giraldus' *Deverdoeu*, now *Dyfrdwy*, "the Dee," see p. 325. Further, *dwyw*- occurs in *dwywol*, an archaic form of *dwyfol* "divine," and in Breton *doué* is *God*.

P. 109. To the instances of the reduction of diphthongs in accented syllables add the following in unaccented final ones: *Cynfal*, *Deinjol*, and *Gwynodl* for earlier *Cynfael*, *Deinjoel*, and *Gwynhoedl*, which prove that the accent has here retreated from the last syllable to the penultimate. In the same category one may include such words as *gele*, "a leech," for *geleu* (compare Sansk. *jalûka*, "a blood-leech," of the same origin as *jala* "water"), *bore*, "morning," for *boreu*; and all such plurals as *pethe* and *petha*, the two prevalent pronunciations of *petheu* or *pethau*, "things," in colloquial Welsh, and so in other cases. Nor is one to exclude the innumerable modern instances which come under the head of what Herr Sievers has happily termed Reciprocal Assimilation and briefly described, pp. 136, 137. This takes place, for example, when natives of South Wales reduce such words as *enaid*, "soul," and

noswaith, "a night," into *ened* and *nosweth*; and it is probable that the colloquial pronunciation of words like *araeth*, "an oration," and *caffael*, "to have," as *areth* and *caffel* is thus to be traced to the older *araith* and *caffail* rather than to the written *araeth*, *caffael*. An interesting instance of older standing offers itself in the proper name *Ithel*, which represents *Idd-hel*, a shortened form of *Juddhael*, written in Old Welsh *Judhael*, and on one of the Llantwit stones *Juthahelo*; it is composed of *jud-*, "fight," and *hael*, "generous, a generous man," and may possibly mean *bello-munificus*. The process is also the same when *aw* becomes *o* as in *serchog*, "affectionate," for *serchawg*, and so in a host of others, *aw* in unaccented final syllables being now as a rule left to poets, and to bombastic speakers in public.

P. 119, line 4 from the bottom, except the case of *Finnemagli*, where the *i* of *vind-* is retained.

P. 122. The base which the Celtic forms for *name* imply was in the singular *anman*, which has recently been shown to have been the original form also of Latin *nomen*, English *name*, and their congeners: see Johannes Schmidt's article in Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, xxiii. p. 267, and Mr. Sayce's inaugural *Lecture on the Study of Comparative Philology* (Oxford, 1876), p. 28.

P. 123, line 11 from the bottom, the cognate forms in other languages make it doubtful whether *heddyw* or *heddyw* is the more original: see page 95.

P. 133. For *_* substitute *'*.

P. 134. For *clôch*, *côch*, read *clôch*, *côch*, in line 8 from the top.

P. 139. For "*candēla* and *habēna*" read "*candēla* and *habēna*."

P. 153. Here should have been mentioned *Duw*, "God," Old Welsh nominative *dūu*, genitive *dūiu*; and all our com-

paratives of inequality in *-ach*, for *-ass* = Aryan, (*j*)*ans*, go back to some one of the longer cases, as may be seen by comparing them with the Sanskrit nominatives *gartyān*, *gartyas*, accusative masculine *gartyāsam*, "heavier;" Greek *μειζων*, *μειζον*, genitive *μειζονος*, Latin *major*, *majus*, genitive *majōris*; but it does not necessarily follow that Welsh *mwyr*, "more, greater," as compared with *mwyrach*, comes from one of the storter cases. Lastly, the attempted explanation of *heno*, "to-night," as a shortening of *henos*, which nowhere actually occurs, is less probable than that it represents some such a form as *he-nuga* or *he-noga*, involving the counterpart of the Greek *νυχ*- in *νυχιος*, "nightly," and *νυχια* "by night."

P. 158, three lines from the bottom, for "members" read "numbers."

P. 162. As a matter of fact I find that *Cunacena* does occur in Irish literature, namely, as *Coinchenn* in *The Martyrology of Donegal*.

P. 169. For "Cadwalader" read "Cadwaladr."

P. 176, last line, better *dhang*, whence German *taugen* and its congeners: see Schmidt's *Vocalismus*, i. p. 172.

P. 177, four lines from the bottom, for "compounds" read "names."

P. 180. As to Genitives in *o* or *u* perhaps it would be more correct to regard the former vowel as the mark of the Early Welsh *U*-direction, and the *o* as standing for *os* = Latin *os*, *us*, *is*, as in *senatu-os*, *Vener-us*, *Vener-is*, and Greek *ος*, as in *νικη-ος* and *φιλοσ-ος*. It appears to have also been *os* in Early Irish, as in *Uwan-os*: see pages 371, 372.

P. 181. As to *Decheti*, it is to be observed, that if *ch* was introduced as the equivalent in point of pronunciation of Early Welsh *cc*, then there would be no proof that *ch* in the instance in question was a spirant, which

takes from the cogency of the argument in so far as it is founded on *Decheti*.

P. 183, line 5 from the bottom, for "*Dumnovali* or *Dubnovali*" read "*Dumnavali* or *Dubnavali*."

P. 194. For "*Epiacum*" read "*Epeiacum*."

P. 197. As to the question of the *v* in *Avon*, Professor Hübner reminds me of a passage in the *Annals*, xii. 31, where Nipperdey reads *cuncta castris Avonam inter et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere*. The character of Nipperdey's texts is too well-known to scholars to need any recommendation, and I am glad to find that he has cast out of his text the spurious form *Caractacus*, which should have been in Modern Welsh *Careithog*, whereas the actual name is *Caradog*, Irish *Carthach*, genitive *Carthaigh*, as in *Mac Carthaigh*, Anglicised *MacCarthy*.

P. 205. For "*Alhortu*" read "*Alhortus*."

P. 210. As *j* did not pass into *ʃ*, but into *ʃj*, in which the *j* may under certain circumstances disappear, *ij* is as likely to have been the direct antecedent of *ʃj*, as *wv* or *vv* of the *ghw* which yielded Modern Welsh *chw* and *gw*. However, initial *j* does not appear to have ever become *ʃj*, but such a case as that of *mulier*, supposing it to mean *muljjer*, would not be excluded; for, as *rj* could become *rʃ*, so *lj* might be expected to become *lʃ*, but the latter would in Welsh have probably to pass into *llh*, whence *llt*, liable to be reduced to *ll*. We cannot say that this was done in *muljjer*, as the word was not adopted into Welsh, but it seems to have taken place in the case of *Vergilius*, which (treated as if pronounced *Fergilius*) became in Welsh *Pheryll* or *Fferyllt*, and the name of the famous Virgil of legend has given us a word for alchymy and chymistry, namely, *fferylljaeth* or *fferylllijaeth*. The same thing happened in the case of the native word *gallu*, "to be able," which has a *t* in some of its derivatives, such as *galltofydd*-

jaeth or *gallofyddjaeth*, "mechanics, the science of forces and machinery," and the Capella gloss *guo-gallou*, "fulcris:" it has already been suggested that *gallu* is of the same origin as the Lithuanian *galiti*, "I can." Besides *Fferyllt* there is another instance which seems to prove that *j* did not become *ɣj* till the Roman occupation—probably it did not happen much before the 8th century, as no certain trace of it appears in our Early Inscriptions. I allude to *Llanfared*, the name of a chapel dedicated to St. Mary, in the neighbourhood of Builth. Here *fared* is the mutated form of *Maredd*, which would be the exact representative of *Marija* for *Maria*: compare *pedverydd*, "*quartus*," and *pedwaredd*, "*quarta*." In the case of the many churches in Wales called *Llanfair*, the form of the name implied is not *Maria* but *Maria*, and the churches themselves possibly belong to a different period, perhaps a much later one: see Rees' *Essay on the Welsh Saints* (London, 1836), pp. 26-35.

P. 212. For *v* in *Evacattos* read *w*, and so in others.

P. 213. Instead of the words "with *anate* representing what is in Modern Welsh *enaid*, 'soul,'" read "with *anate* of the same origin and meaning as the Modern Welsh *enaid*, 'soul;'" and, further on, cancel the reference to *Qvici* and *Qveci*—I am now inclined to regard them as *Qvici* and *Qvēci*: see page 255.

P. 218. With *Vennisetli* may be coupled the form *Vendesetli* found on another stone, which seems to have been the name of the identical man afterwards known as *Gwynhoedl*: see page 385.

P. 230. Mr. Douse, in his recent work entitled *Grimm's Law: a Study* (London, 1876), shows, p. 203, that *ʒ* is merely a graphic variety of *ʃ*, and not an independent formation from the same origin.

P. 237. By *teg-hedr* it was meant to suggest that the

Welsh comparatives of equality in *ed* are formally the equivalents of the Greek *κουρότερος*, *γλυκύτερος*, and the like. Instances of the corresponding Irish forms, used as comparatives of equality, are mentioned in O'Donovan's Irish Grammar, p. 120 ; but in Welsh the desynonymisation of those corresponding to Greek comparatives in *-τερος* and *-ιω* respectively, is complete, and marked by the use of different particles, namely, *ag*, *a*, "as," and *nag*, *na*, "than," while in Irish the former gradually dropped out of use.

P. 241. For Cornish *elin* read *elinn*.

P. 242. As to *canell*, Davies's *canel*, "cinnamomum," must be a comparatively late and incorrect form.

P. 243. To the instance of *daw* in *Brut y Tywysogion* add two in Williams' *Seint Greal* (London, 1874), pp. 21, 124.

P. 265, line 11 from the bottom, read "are" for "is."

P. 295. The Trefgarn stone has been omitted in the Appendix.

P. 323. For the benefit of those who may have scruples as to equating *Ogyrven* with *Ahriman*, it may be said that *druwg*, which we use both as an adjective and as a noun for evil, in the widest sense of the word, is beyond doubt of the same origin as the Zend *drukhs*, and Sanskrit *druh*, as to which Professor Max Müller, quoting from the Rigveda, says: "Druh, mischief, is used as a name of darkness or the night, and the Dawn is said to drive away the hateful darkness of Druh. The Âdityas are praised for preserving man from Druh, and Maghavan or Indra is implored to bestow on his worshippers the light of day, after having driven away the many ungodly Druhs" (*Lectures*⁸, ii. pp. 498, 499).

P. 335. Instead of assuming *c* and *r* in alphabet No. 5 to have changed places, one may suppose No. 9, on page 336, to have taken, owing to a hesitation perhaps of a local nature, the following form :—

Juvenis. All these forms are of the same origin as Welsh *jeuanc*, *ifanc*, English *young*, Latin *juvencus*, while the Irish is *óg*, for *óc*, owing to the rule-right elision of both *j* and *w*, and the reduction of *nc* to *c*. On the other hand, the *Joan* of the authorised Welsh version of the New Testament is 'Iwáwn; but thinly disguised: it seems to date no earlier than the Reformation, when it began to supersede *Jewan*.

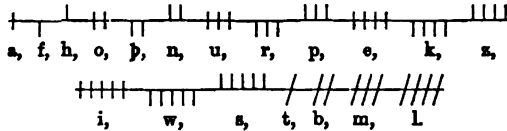
P. 393. For *e* in *Catotigerni* read *i*.

P. 398. *Andagelli* possibly survives in *Annell*, the name of a stream between Llandilo and Carmarthen, to which Mr. Silvan Evans has kindly called my attention.

P. 426. With *drud*, "a hero," compare Lith. *drútas*, "firm," and Old Norse *thrútr*, "strong," and see the remarks on them and forms allied with them in the second volume of Schmidt's *Vocalismus*, pp. 264, 458.

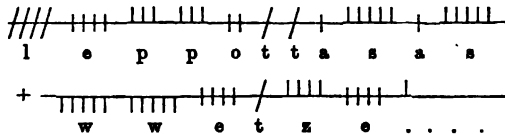
Lastly, the following, which may prove a contribution towards the solution of the question as to the origin and history of the Ogmic method of writing, reached me too late to be placed in its proper place. Thanks to the kindness of the author of *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, and Mr. Anderson, superintendent of the Edinburgh Museum, I received a squeeze of an Ogam-inscribed stone lately brought thither from St. Ninian's Isle, Shetland. The stone, which has been broken at one end, was dug out of the ground in an old burying-place, and is in many respects a very remarkable one. Among other things it is to be noticed that the vowels consist of long strokes crossing the edge of the stone at right angles, as surmised on page 306 of this volume. Having in vain tried to decipher the inscription by means of the ordinary Celtic key, I ventured to apply to it alphabet xi. (p. 342), when it was found to contain TTTTT, which is not included in the latter. This, however, does not prove its inapplicability,

but rather suggests that before it yielded alphabets xii. (p. 343) and xiii. (p. 344), it was developed into the following:—

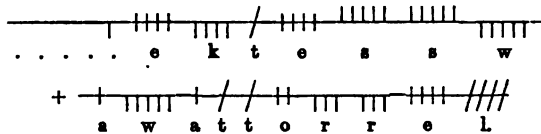


The reason, in that case, why no *w* appears in alphabet xiii., consisting of Runes formed from the letters of the Roman alphabet, would be the fact that the latter provided no separate character for it.

The direction in which an Ogmie inscription is to be read can seldom be settled beforehand: so the present instance, tried by means of the key here suggested, would be either—



or else—



The *tt* should perhaps be read *b*, but the question as to whether either of these readings has any meaning, and what that meaning may be, must be left to men who have made Teutonic philology their special study.

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